

# Rally Around A.F.T. Program—Counts

This is a section of the acceptance speech of Dr. George S. Counts, Teachers' College, Columbia University, who was elected national president of the American Federation of Teachers at its twenty-third annual convention in Buffalo, N. Y.

I WISH TO EXPRESS my appreciation of the very great honor that this convention has given me. I regard the American Federation of Teachers as the most progressive body of teachers by all odds in this country, an organization which already has great power and an organization which, in the years to come, I am sure will become the unrivaled leader and organizer of the teachers in this country, and at levels from the kindergarten through the university and in both public and private institutions.

I appreciate the opportunity that you have given me. I want to thank those who have voted for me as well as those who did not, because those of you who did not gave me a little experience that I shall long remember. It was said that I was an academician, a philosopher and rather remote from the struggles of the market place. That is true, and you people have helped to educate me. I want to say further that I am going to be president, if it is possible, of the entire Federation of Teachers. I intend, insofar as the power lies within me, to use all of the resources of intelligence, of character, that this great Union possesses; I know of no educational organization which is better equipped with such resources, and I mean literally just what I have said.

## Preparation for Crisis of Society Necessary

I feel uncertain of my own talents here this morning as I face the future, and I am not just thinking of those 2,200 letters that Jerome Davis told me he had written during the past year or the many miles that he had traveled, but I am thinking of the great talents of intellect and character which Jerome Davis represents. I am not sure that I can follow him, but I shall do my best. Jerome and I have been in many battles together and my hope is that we shall be together in many more.

Just one final word: The year ahead—maybe the days and weeks and months ahead, but certainly the year ahead—is going to be a difficult year. At least every indication suggests that it is going to be a difficult year. Our society goes on the whole of world society, and it apparently is going to go deep into a crisis. Just what form this crisis will take, we don't know. Whether we, as a people, shall be at war a year from now, we don't know. But we do know that we are going to pass through some very troublous and trying times and we know that this organization will pass through those times.

We know that great battles for the values of democracy, of popular liberty and of simple humanism and decency are going to be fought in these months ahead, and I hope that this organization will be able to look back upon the record of this coming year with complete satisfaction and without regret. I appeal to all of you to rally around the great purposes of this Federation during the coming year.

The following program is the one on which Dr. George S. Counts ran for the presidency of the American Federation of Teachers. It is published in full.

## 1. The Extension of Democracy

We should promote the development of a comprehensive program of education designed to sustain and advance the cause of democracy during the present critical period. This requires:

1. Intensified support of all measures (with particular emphasis on federal and state aid) designed to reduce and ultimately to remove inequalities of educational opportunity with respect to districts and regions, class, occupational, racial, national and religious groups.

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# The AMERICAN TEACHER

Official Organ of the American Federation of Teachers

VOLUME XXIV

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No. 1

## Dr. Counts Heads AFT; Nine New Officers Elected

### Union Backs Democratic Legislation

The drive for federal aid to education was splendidly promoted by the cooperation of the AF of T Locals, Mary Foley Grossman, national legislative representative, reported in her speech to the national convention. "At least twelve state assemblies," Mrs. Grossman said, "passed our resolution memorializing Congress to pass the Federal Aid Bill. In many more instances the resolution passed one house. Scores of resolutions came through from central labor bodies, state federations of labor and individual labor unions. In Michigan and Illinois, where the vocational education question was very keen, our Locals did a fine job of education and won much local support. Everywhere AF of T members shouldered up to the job."

The Legislative Committee is made up of the national Executive Council of the AF of T, and Mrs. Grossman acts as legislative representative in Washington for them.

### AF of T Works Actively

While the AF of T worked actively in Washington to promote federal aid, as Mrs. Grossman pointed out, "in the hysteria that gripped the Seventy-sixth Congress toward the end of its first session, the Federal Aid to Education Bill (which has been reported to the Senate) had little chance of being presented on the floor."

During the coming legislative year, it is expected that President Roosevelt will back the attempt to pass the federal aid act. As the President's Advisory Committee has already pointed out, the act is "necessary for the preservation and extension of American civilization and representative political institutions."

State Federations of the AF of T were especially active in opposing attacks on the employment of married women and in defending the right of labor to organize, according to the legislative representative of the Executive Council.

The National Legislative Committee has set up a model bill bureau which has cooperated with

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### Minnesota Student Wins AFT Contest

The first prize of \$125.00 in the AF of T contest for the best essay on "Organized Labor—America's Problem or Opportunity" went to Clarke Alexander Chambers of Blue Earth, Minn. The second prize of \$75.00 went to Harry Hyman of Philadelphia, Pa.; third prize of \$50.00 to Grace Halterman of San Francisco, Calif.; and fourth prize of \$25.00 to Mimi Segal of New Rochelle, N. Y.

### New President



George S. Counts, newly elected president of the Teachers Union, has worked on a number of leading educational committees in the United States and is the author of various books in the field of education.

He received his A.B. at Baker University in 1911 and his Ph.D. in 1916 from the University of Chicago. He has taught at Delaware College, Newark; Harris Teachers College, St. Louis; the University of Washington; Yale University; the University of Chicago; and has been a member of the faculty of Teachers' College, Columbia University, since 1927.

Among Dr. Counts' many writings are: his newly published pamphlet, "The Schools Can Teach Democracy"; "The Prospects of American Democracy," and "Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?"

He is a member of the executive board of the New York College Teachers Union (No. 537) and has been a member of the AF of T for a number of years.

### New Ads Appear in This Issue

In line with the recommendation of the Officers' Committee at the Buffalo convention, The AMERICAN TEACHER in this issue carries large ads from the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (page 16) and Modern Age Books (page 3). These ads will continue only if you use the attached coupons and purchase their materials.

Dr. Clyde Miller, secretary of the Institute of Propaganda Analysis, is a member of Local 537 of the AF of T. The institute is two years old. The monthly bulletin on propaganda has been found extremely helpful by both teachers and students.

Modern Age Books is a much needed experiment in providing the American public with good books, reprints and new, at low cost. In both ads please use the coupon.

### Delegates Set Record Attendance

Eight new vice presidents and a new national president were elected by the delegates to the twenty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers which was held August 21-25 at Buffalo, N. Y. Dr. George S. Counts, Teachers' College, Columbia University, member of the New York College Teachers Union (No. 537), was elected to the presidency by a vote of 344 to 320.

Dr. Jerome Davis, who was finishing his third term as president of the AF of T, was the defeated candidate. During his three years as president, Dr. Davis has seen the membership of the AF of T increase from 16,000 to more than 20,000. Dr. Counts in his acceptance speech paid tribute to Jerome Davis' "great talents of intellect and character."

### Eight Members Retire

Retiring members of the executive council and their length of service are: Allie Mann, Atlanta, six years; John Connors, New Bedford, Mass., two years; Paul Preisler, St. Louis, two years; Joel Seidman, New York (WPA), two years; Mercedes Nelson, Minneapolis, four years; Michael Eck, Cleveland, two years; H. C. Brown, Palo Alto, Calif., one year; and Lila Hunter, Seattle one year.

According to the final report of Mary McGough, chairman of the Credentials Committee, the total number of votes at the 1939 convention was 667. The total number of delegates attending the convention, a new record for the American Federation of Teachers, was approximately 478.

### Results of Balloting

The following national vice presidents were unopposed in the elections: Amelia Yeager, Local 35; Arthur Elder, Local 231; Mary J. Herrick, Local 1; Stanton Smith, Local 246; C. M. Etheredge, Local 422; Mary Foley Grossman, Local 192; Charles J. Hendley, Local 5; and George E. Axtelle, Local 635.

The other officers elected were:

President	George S. Counts, Local 537.....344
	Jerome Davis, Local 204.....320
Vice-Presidents	
	Arthur Broetje, Local 336.....316
	Robert Iglehart, Local 401.....346
	Ruth Dodds, Local 358.....308
	Gertrude Luehning, Local 442.....356
	Paul Preisler, Local 420.....289
	John Woodruff, Local 462.....372
	Michael J. Eck, Local 279.....296
	R. E. Abercrombie, Local 479.....366
	Robenia Anthony, Local 484.....343
	John D. Connors, Local 263.....320
	Layle Lane, Local 5.....224
	Doxey Wilkerson, Local 440.....433
	Ned Dearborn, Local 537.....357
	Joel Seidman, Local 189.....306



## 14 Discuss Teacher Security

Fourteen classroom teachers participated in the panel on "Economic Security of Teachers" which was held at the AF of T convention in Buffalo. Paul Preisler, St. Louis, was in charge of the panel which was divided into three parts: tenure; credit unions, insurance and teacher-welfare; and pensions.

### Sara Walsh Explains Work

The first section of the discussion was devoted to a consideration of tenure. Sara T. Walsh, chairman of the National Tenure Committee, explained the work of her committee during the past year. The Committee, after polling AF of T Locals throughout the country, discovered that there was a national tendency to lower the coverage of people under tenure by lowering the age limit of those teachers who may continue in service and jacking up the initial service limits of those who go under tenure. Miss Walsh described the attack on married women teachers and the damage done to the Pennsylvania Tenure Law by the recent legislative attacks.

### Need for Tenure Legislation

Jesse Cline, Bloomington, Ill., described the attempt of teachers of Illinois during the past ten years to secure tenure. In her experience, Miss Cline said, some of the important problems were: educating teachers to the need for tenure legislation; overcoming the antipathy of teachers toward the rights of married and rural teachers; seeing that legislators are contacted personally; and using the labor movement which has strength with state legislatures.

John Woodruff, Goose Creek, Texas, gave his experiences on working for local tenure for protection in working for state-wide tenure. Other members of the panel who discussed teacher tenure were Frances Masteron, Lowell, Mass.; Nathan Shrager, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rose Olson, New York, N. Y.; and Pauline Kasakoff, Philadelphia, Pa.

### Group Insurance Aids

In the next section of the panel, devoted to a discussion of credit unions, insurance and teacher welfare, Walter Bergman, Detroit, Mich., stressed the advantage of holding out to new members the concrete advantage of membership in a group insurance plan as additional incentive to AF of T membership. Maurice Crew, Chicago, Ill., discussed the health security plan used by the Chicago Local. The Union has an agreement with the Civic Medical Center of Chicago which furnishes Union members medical services for \$18.00 per year for an individual or \$30.00 per year for a family group. Walter A. Sidley, Lawrence, Mass., spoke on the work of the credit union as did Frank X. Henke, Chicago, Ill., who pointed out that Union teachers in Chicago had been saved over \$25,000 in 1939.

### Pension Systems

The last section of the panel was devoted to "Pension Systems Now in Operation." Speakers on this subject were Erling Tholfsen, New York, N. Y., who described the pension plan which has been in operation for twenty-two years in New York City; Susan Scully, Chicago, Ill., who discussed the Chicago plan; and Mary Casad, Springfield, Ohio, who spoke on the Ohio Pension Plan which covers all of the teachers of the state, both rural and urban. It has been in operation for about twenty years and is supported by deductions from teachers' salaries and a matching contribution from the boards of education.

## "Of Course We Believe in Education, But—"



## Counts Outlines Program for A.F.T. to Advance Democracy in Crisis

(Continued from page 1)

2. Reorganization and co-ordination of the tax structure of the nation on the principle of levying taxes according to ability to pay, of taxing wealth where it is found, and applying it where it is needed.
  3. Establishment on the part of the school of the closest possible relationships with the democratic forces of the community and the formation of boards of education representative of the people.
  4. Democratization of the organization, conduct and administration of the school.
  5. Organization of the life and program of the school to develop in the pupil those traits and dispositions essential to the democratic way of living:
    - a. A feeling of competence and confidence to deal with life.
    - b. An allegiance to the central democratic principle of human equality, brotherhood, dignity and worth.
    - c. A loyalty to the democratic process of free discussion, criticism and group discussion.
    - d. A mentality marked by fair-mindedness, integrity and scientific spirit.
    - e. A respect for and an appreciation of talent, training of character.
    - f. A sense of the fundamental social obligation to work.
    - g. An enlightened devotion to the general welfare.
  6. The establishment of all forms of vocational and special training on a broad cultural base.
  7. The support of all educationally sound measures, whether local, state or federal, designed to promote the education of adults.
- ### II. The Teacher and the Community
- We should struggle for those conditions under which teachers may become dignified, honest and free, in the full awareness of their vital importance and heavy responsibility in guiding children and youth in the ways of democracy. This requires:
1. Support of all measures, organizational relationships and legislative enactments respecting the employment, promotion and dismissal of teachers which will guard the deepest and most abiding interests of pupils, teachers and community.
  2. Support of adequate retirement legislation for teachers and of general social security for all employees of the board of education, or educational institution.
  3. Encouragement of teacher participation in the life of the community, defense of freedom of speech for teachers both as teachers and as citizens and, in short, demanding for the teacher all the rights of the citizen.
  4. Struggle against all forms of discrimination against teachers because of race, religion, politics, sex or marital status. Unwavering stand for tenure based squarely on merit; re-emphasis on the principle of civil service for teachers.
  5. General drive for mobilization of funds and resources for the defense of teachers unjustly dismissed or deprived of their rights.
- ### III. The Organization of Teachers
- We should build a vigorous and solidly unified organization which will draw into the American Federation of Teachers all progressive forces in the teaching profession. This requires:
1. Systematic cultivation throughout the membership of the spirit of independence, power of critical judgment and capacities for leadership.
  2. Defense of the principle that membership is open to all teachers alike, regardless of race, religion or politics.
  3. Encouragement within the AF of T of critical analyses and evaluations of all political pro-

grams, but commitment of the Union as a whole to no national party.

4. Recognition of the fundamental principle that adequate support of education requires the release of the productive forces of our economy so that expansion of the national income results.
5. Unification and democratization of the entire labor movement, co-operation of all democratic forces (including farmers and middle-class groups) and participation in the organization of programs looking toward the increase of our productive energies. The teachers must participate in this unification and democratization.
6. Expansion of the services of the national organization to the Locals and development of fraternal relationships with other federations of teachers on the American continent.
7. The integration in the AMERICAN TEACHER of the practical and theoretical functional interests of teachers.
8. Active cultivation of friendly and cooperative relations between the locals of the AF of T and central labor bodies and the national organization of the American Federation of Labor.

### Spencer Miller Addresses Delegates

Spencer Miller, head of the Workers' Education Bureau of America, in addressing the convention, stressed the importance of the fact that teachers are beginning to concern themselves about the problem of the democratic way of life and to meet with representatives of labor in the community, thus finding a new opportunity for cooperative relations.

## U. S. Adults Need WPA Program

College professors and WPA teachers stressed the need for providing the American people with a realistic adult education program in a panel discussion on "The Education of Adults in a Democracy." Joel Seidman, New York, presided over the discussion.

The first speaker on the panel was Dr. George S. Counts who emphasized the point that the success of popular government depends upon the education of the people. He suggested that other members of the panel consider this question: "What is the knowledge necessary for free men in our time if they are to guard the freedoms they have and secure freedoms which as yet they only aspire to gain?"

### WPA's Constructive Achievements

Ned H. Dearborn, dean of the Division of General Education of New York University, discussed the constructive achievements of the WPA in adult education. He pointed out that the scope of the WPA included literacy education, naturalization, public affairs, academic and cultural work, education for leisure-time activities, vocational and parent education and teacher education besides the work of the recreational projects.

He gave a general analysis of the field of adult education, which includes the adjustment of personal problems which deal with family affairs—psychological, economic or educational from the standpoint of intellectual curiosities; the adjustment of occupational problems, which includes education for employment, re-education for adjustment and employment and educational resources of employment; the field of civic education; the field of general education to which people are attracted by reason of intellectual interests; the field of fine arts; and the field of recreation, which includes indoor and outdoor sports, games and hobbies.

### Need for Relief Re-Certification

Mrs. Sonia Poljar of Philadelphia summarized the work of the National Committee of the AF of T on WPA in defense of the WPA program in the United States. She urged non-WPA teachers of the AF of T to use their influence to facilitate relief re-certification of those who have been dropped from the WPA rolls and to expedite the re-assignment of those who have already been re-certified.

William Levner, president of the WPA Local of New York City, explained the work of the WPA in New York where free lunches are given to 120,000 children daily. The WPA Local in New York, according to Mr. Levner, distributed 3,000 leaflets to the people, appealing to them on the basis of the service given to them by the adult education program.

Viola Benson of Minneapolis described recent WPA strikes of the building unions in Minneapolis.

### Aims of Workers' Education

James Dombroski of Highlander Folk School spoke on developments in the field of workers' education and pointed out that workers' education is partisan in its approach and is on the side of labor. It is more interested in developing and creating new facts than in memorizing old ones. It studies history to learn to control the future.

Other members of the panel were Evelyn Sholund of Chicago who described the activities of the Union Study Class of the Chicago Teachers' Union and Marguerite Fitzgerald, chairman of the Social Committee of Local 1. She described the cultural and entertainment opportunities presented in the Union, the dramatic and music groups, the athletic activities and the social activities.



## AFT Members Discuss Organizational Methods

Various reports and discussions at the national convention indicated that there is a wide variety of successful methods of organizing AF of T Locals. Members of the panel on "Organization of the AF of T" indicated that the local labor situation and the school and community situation determine the method of organization.

Stanton Smith, national vice president who spent last semester as a full-time AF of T organizer paid by the AF of L, explained his work to the convention. During the semester he reported he concentrated on exploring labor and teacher contacts in the Southern Area. In the summer months he visited the summer sessions in the area. If the arrangement with the AF of L can be continued, Smith pointed out, the work should be concentrated on those areas where results are most likely to be obtained.

### New York Raises Funds

Bella Dodd, organizer and legislative representative for the New York State Area, outlined her work for the year. The region raised \$7,000 for the work by a special assessment of \$1.00 per member. A state office of the AF of T was set up in Albany for the legislative work. Mrs. Dodd stressed the importance of maintaining understanding and the sympathy of the general public in legislative work.

Other speakers on the panel were Harold Reese, who spoke on AF of T work in rural areas in Minnesota; Mary Herrick, Illinois-Indiana vice president, who recommended the expenditure of

## ORGANIZED IN 34 STATES

The American Federation of Teachers now has Locals in 34 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Panama Canal Zone. It also has a number of members-at-large in various areas. During 1938-39 the New York area showed a gain of 1,734 members, while the Illinois-Indiana district was second with an increase in membership of 1,149.

funds for carefully planned volunteer organizing, working closely with the state federations; Irvin Kuenzli, secretary-treasurer, who explained the role of the national office in organizing teachers; and Jerome Davis, who spoke on his experiences during the year.

### Locals Need Attention

Many speakers pointed out the AF of T has not guided and serviced small new Locals with the result that many of them go out of existence the first year. Stanton Smith urged that some method of helping these Locals be found.

The Organization Committee at the convention headed by Jesse Stutsman presented the following recommendations which were adopted: That special funds be set aside for emergency; that state federations investigate the possibilities of special assessments; that AF of T organizers should be members of the teaching profession; and that a standing committee be set up to serve as a clearing house on summer session work.

### Other Points Stressed

The committee also stressed the importance of (1) the growth of the AF of T on a program which appeals to all the teachers (2) a continuous program for the Union (3) personal contacts be established by teas, forums, and study classes (4) cooperation with other teacher groups, parent-teacher associations, and other community groups.

The report on State Federations which was made by Wilber Mahaney at the Buffalo convention suggested that the AMERICAN TEACHER be used as a clearing house for the work of state federations. It urged all locals to affiliate with their state federations and that certain funds be allocated to the state bodies for the publication of a state organ.

## Reports Show Urgent Need for School Aid

Reports by delegates from all sections of the United States at the Convention session on "Problems of Financing Schools" proved the need for organizing teachers against present-day retrenchment drives and organizing wide support for the passage of the federal aid law. Arthur Elder, Michigan vice president, was the chairman of the meeting.

Nancy Lee Smith, Chattanooga, Tenn., stressed the need for a competent and functioning educational system as a necessity for a functioning democracy. Pointing out the financial inequalities which exist between states and the financial support of schools within states, Mrs. Smith declared, "One-fifth of the children in America live in states where it would take more than average effort to provide for them any amount above \$25.00 per child. Remember that the national average expenditure is \$74.30."

### Explains Evils of Inequalities

Mrs. Smith explained the evils of these inequalities, of migration to richer states of people who had been educated in the poorer states, and showed the absolute impossibility of many states and regions of providing funds for even average schools.

Vice President Doxey Wilkerson explained the plan of the Advisory Committee on Education for federal aid to education which would bring about more equality of educational opportunity. Dr. Wilkerson suggested that the Committee's greatest contribution had been to make the American people and the teachers aware of the problem.

Frances Comfort, Detroit, Mich., suggested that one of the first things an AF of T Local, especially a new Local, might do would be to make a study of the local tax situation. This helps the Local get a picture of the community and its tax structure and can be done with relatively few members.

Flora Phillely, Gary, Ind., outlined the Gary Union's experiences. Three years ago, she said, the Union made a study and recom-

(Continued on page 4)

## Union Backs—

(Continued from page 1) the State Federations in helping them to draw up bills to be introduced in the state legislatures. Dr. Ross Thalheimer of Baltimore, active in the model bill bureau, is contributing \$25.00 annually for a prize to the Local or State Federation which does the best legislative work of the year.

The legislative representative was active in opposing the anti-alien bills, of which there were more introduced this year than ever before, and cooperated with other progressive groups in helping to bring the Gavagan Anti-lynching Bill to the floor of the House.

### Backs Wagner Bills

As an organization interested in the conditions under which children live, the AF of T supported the Wagner-Steagall Housing Bill and the Wagner Health Bill. It opposed the passage of the Woodrum Act on WPA and supported the Wages and Hours Act and the Walsh-Healy Act. It opposed legislation seeking to require trade unions to incorporate.

In regard to the National Labor Relations Act, the legislative report of the Executive Council stated: "The National Labor Relations Act is perhaps the most important law relating to labor that has been placed on the statute books. It has increased the protection of labor and recognized its rights in such a manner as to make for greater equality in bargaining power as between employers and organized employees. We should like to warn our membership to be on guard against use of the House Committee investigation of the administration of the Act as a springboard for proposing amendments to destroy or emasculate it."

The growth of membership of the AF of T in recent years has greatly increased the success of the Union in the legislative field, and it has been clearly indicated that the prestige of the AF of T has been greatly increased because of its effective work on federal aid legislation.

## Opening Speeches

The invocation opening the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers was given by the Reverend Father Kelly, Chaplain of the Buffalo Federation of Labor.

Following the invocation the convention was greeted by Norbert Berger, president of the Buffalo Federation of Labor; Merwin C. Morrison, representing the mayor of the City of Buffalo who was unable to be present; George Sturges, secretary of the Buffalo Federation of Labor;

## Greetings to the AFT

"I am glad to send greetings to the annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers. It is hardly necessary to reiterate that schools are the foundation of democracy and that therefore teachers are rendering a most fundamental service to the state.

How the Federal Government can best carry on its functions and at the same time preserve the maximum of local initiative and individual liberty constitutes a challenge which must be met. This problem affects particularly the relation of the Federal Government to education.

I hope that groups, like the American Federation of Teachers will continue to give their profoundest consideration to the question and thus assist the Federal Government in arriving at the wisest decision with respect to its part in the great educational program of the several states and of the people."

—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

"The officers and members of the American Federation of Labor will watch with deep interest the proceedings of your convention. You represent a highly important group of teachers who, because of their education and training, occupy a strong and influential place in the educational life of the nation. We are pleased to have the teachers who are members of the American Federation of Teachers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor . . . and I extend to the officers and delegates in attendance at your convention the official greetings of the American Federation of Labor and my personal felicitations. As evidence of our very deep interest I have appointed one of our most capable representatives, Brother George L. Googe, to attend your convention to counsel and advise with you and to represent me personally and the American Federation of Labor in an official way. May your deliberations and the decisions you reach all command the respect and support of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. I wish for you a most successful, harmonious and satisfactory convention."

—WILLIAM GREEN,  
President, American Federation of Labor

## AFL Publishes Labor History of U. S. Schools

"Labor and Education," a pamphlet prepared by the Workers Education Bureau, headed by Spencer Miller, at the request of the Committee on Education of the AF of L, has just been published by the AF of L. It summarizes the resolutions passed at all AF of L conventions from 1881 to 1938 and contains a good cross-index.

One thousand of these were distributed at the Buffalo convention and the national office of the AF of T is distributing copies free of charge to universities and libraries. Locals wishing the pamphlet are urged to write to Irvin R. Kuenzli at the national office. A few copies may be available for distribution to members.

According to a decision of the Executive Council, all national committees of the AF of T will continue until the December Council meeting.

## Publications Board Lists Year's Plans

George T. Guernsey, editor of the AMERICAN TEACHER, was reappointed for the coming year by a unanimous vote of the Executive Council. S. Amelia Yeager, vice-president of the Wisconsin-Minnesota Area, was added to the editorial committee which now includes Mary Herrick, George Axtelle, Irvin Kuenzli, and Kermit Eby, as consulting editor.

The AMERICAN TEACHER will appear from October through May in magazine form, according to the committee's plans. Besides the magazine, several editions of the newspaper will be published as Part II of the journal. All Locals are urged to appoint an official correspondent to the AMERICAN TEACHER who will be responsible for sending in Union news and accomplishments.

Deadlines for the November and December issues will be November 1 and November 27 respectively.

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### 5. YOU MIGHT LIKE SOCIALISM

by Corliss Lamont. If you have prejudices, prepare to shed them now for Corliss Lamont's book is addressed frankly to people with open minds. Dr. Lamont is a noted young philosopher, a member of the famous banking family, and a Radical. Here at last we may examine socialism as a way of life, the nature of the existing order and the possible changes that the future may hold.

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by Victoria Lincoln. "When friends ask me which among the fall books I urge them to read I shall look at them speculatively and wonder if they are worthy of meeting Jenny in February Hill . . . If I like them very much I shall tell them to read February Hill, but not if they are easily shocked." —Lewis Gannett, in the N. Y. Herald Tribune

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### 7. THE MYSTERIOUS MICKEY FINN

by Elliot Paul. There are sparkling characters in this story—Homer Evans, who alone should make this book a rival to the Thin Man and whose varied talents include quick thinking and a personality which ambassadors, taxi drivers, and beautiful girls find equally irresistible; there is the young lady from Montana whose shapely hand is effective with a revolver; also Hjalmar Jansen, giant Norwegian artist, ready for fight or frolic.

Just Published 50c

### 8. THE UNITED STATES: A GRAPHIC HISTORY

by Louis M. Hacker, Rudolph Modley, and George R. Taylor. Here is history streamlined. Footnotes and boring details that slow up the reader have been stripped away and history is presented in its functional form, dealing with the past as it influences social, political and business life.

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# RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT CONVENTION

## WORKING CONDITIONS

S. Amelia Yeager, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, presented the following resolutions which were passed by the delegates to the national convention:

That the AF of T condemn any system of segregation which results in a denial of equality of educational opportunity to any student on account of race, creed or color; that it oppose differentials in teacher salaries based on race or color and that it cooperate with other state teachers' associations which are working toward these ends.

That it denounce the general policy of racial segregation and specifically the discrimination by the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Schoolboard of the District of Columbia against Marion Anderson in Washington, D. C.

That it oppose the widespread discrimination in the admission to institutions of higher learning because of race or religion and urge all AF of T Locals to undertake a campaign to correct this discrimination, if necessary by securing legislation denying tax funds or tax exemptions or other privileges enjoyed by offending institutions.

The committee urged that Tom Mooney be invited to speak to the 1939 AF of T convention in Cincinnati.

That the 1939 convention of the A. F. of T. endorse the progressive policies of the national administration in regard to education and labor and urge Locals to support these policies.

## SCHOOL FINANCE

Max Diamond, chairman of the Committee on Taxation and School Finance, presented the following resolutions which were passed by the delegates:

That the AF of T urge the launching of an aggressive campaign in defense of the schools as a bulwark of democracy, that the National Committee on Taxation and Finance carry on a vigorous campaign for the extension and defense for the financial support of the public-school system and that this committee work with the AF of T Locals on this problem.

That the AMERICAN TEACHER give special help by publishing factual material dealing with the attempt of certain organizations to attack the educational budget or to advocate a tax theory which shifts the burden of taxation from the rich to the poor, and Locals and State Federations work out a socially desirable tax program for their states and localities.

That the National Committee prepare a bibliography on the subject.

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS

Frances Comfort, chairman of the Social and Economic Trends Committee, submitted these resolutions which were passed:

That the AF of T support a consumers' boycott of all goods produced in Germany, Italy and Japan.

That it urge the extension of life of the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee and endorse the LaFollette Oppressive Labor Practices Act.

That it urge the speedy and final ratification of the Child Labor Amendment and that Locals and State Federations where the amendment has not been passed engage in a vigorous campaign to secure its ratification.

That it oppose any and all anti-alien legislation designed to persecute aliens and abridge their civil liberties; and that it support such flexible interpretation of the immigration laws as will permit the entry of the largest number of refugees.

That it endorse the Warner-

Rogers Bill for the admission of 20,000 refugee children.

That it endorse a resolution on women's rights and that teachers have the right to marry without prejudice to the tenure of their positions.

That it urge liberalization and broadening of the Dies Committee and urge that the committee investigate some 800 fascistic and reactionary organizations in the United States; that the committee grant the right to representatives of liberal and progressive organizations to defend themselves and to present their own evidence uncovering un-American activities.

That it endorse the American Rediscovery Week of the American Committee on Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, to be held from October 8 to 14 and urge all locals to arrange some appropriate activity.

## ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Arnold Shukotoff, chairman of the Academic Freedom Committee, introduced these resolutions which were passed:

That the A. F. of T. condemn the dismissal of President Fisher as president of the Western Washington College of Education.

That it support Virginia MacElhern and do everything possible to aid in her return to the Reitschans High School in Springfield, Ill.

That it deplore the action of the Board of Regents of the University of Colorado in the case of Dr. I. Krechevsky and affirm the principle that in matters of appointment and promotion appropriate faculty recommendations be adhered to by boards of regents or trustees.

That it condemn the action of the Willoughby Rural School Board and demand that Ruth Irene Adlard be reinstated.

That it designate the dismissal of Dr. A. J. Kraus in the system of higher education in the City of New York as a violation of proper dismissal procedure and a marked injustice; that it commend the Board of Higher Education for granting him a hearing on the case.

## TENURE

Sara T. Walsh, chairman of the Tenure Committee, read the following resolutions which were passed:

That the amount set aside for the defense fund of the A. F. of T. be increased and that this fund be used not only for defense, but also for subsistence of teachers unjustly dismissed; and that the Executive Council set up suitable procedures for dispensing such a fund.

That the Tenure Committee act as a clearing bureau for information, make a study of the nature of the opposition to and the support for the tenure movement and that it prepare material to help Locals in conducting tenure campaigns.

That the Tenure Committee be authorized to appoint a local committee which will carry on the work under the direction of the standing committee.

## ADULT EDUCATION —WPA

James Dombrowski, chairman of the Adult Education and WPA Committee, recommended these resolutions which were passed:

That the Twenty-third Convention of the American Federation of Teachers oppose the abolishing, the merging or the curtailing of the Workers Education Division of the WPA.

That it endorse the principle of equal pay for equal work and call upon the WPA administration to correct abuses of this principle.

That it condemn the Woodrum WPA Act and urge the restoration

of prevailing wages on all WPA projects.

That it urge the extension of the WPA educational and recreational programs and the rescinding of the prohibitive local sponsorship costs.

That it endorse the Celler Bill which would place the recreational and educational WPA projects on a permanent basis.

That it protest to the San Francisco Board of Education concerning class quarters for WPA teachers in San Francisco.

That it urge the Department of Labor to make available in more popular form the research studies and materials of the department and that it develop educational extension services which would help teachers in their trade-union educational work.

That it urge state and city boards of education to grant teacher credit to recreational and educational workers.

That it support the continuance and extension of the NYA.

That it urge the rescinding of the eighteen-month employment limitation clause of the Woodrum Act.

## LEGISLATION

These resolutions were brought up for consideration by Bella Dodd, chairman of the Legislative Committee, and passed:

That the A. F. of T. endorse the plan of federal aid as recommended by the President's Advisory Committee on Education and embodied in the Harrison-Thomas Bill (S.1305) introduced into the Seventy-sixth Congress; and that it include Puerto Rico in all demands for federal aid.

That it endorse the principles involved in the Wagner Health Bill.

That it urge all teachers to exert every effort to make the passage of the Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill the first order of business at the next session of Congress.

That it endorse the amendments to the Social Security Act proposed by the Social Security Board which were: (1) that maximum benefits to the dependent child be increased; (2) that the Federal Government's share in these contributions be increased; and (3) that for the child who remains in school, benefits shall continue until he is eighteen years of age.

That it propose that a national board of education should be created to assume the powers of the Commissioner of Education who should become its executive officer, and that this board should be composed of representatives of interested organizations including organized labor.

That the Executive Council of the A. F. of T. study the Wagner Labor Act and what the position of the A. F. of T. should be; and make recommendations to the Locals accordingly.

That the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of T. recommends that a Washington office be established by January with a full-time legislative representative.

That it adopt a legislative program early in the school year so that Locals may get commitments by Congressional candidates.

That a research bureau be established to prepare form bills to aid state federations and to present facts in support of legislative campaigns; and that the research bureau concentrate on pension, state aid, salaries, taxation, certification and sabbatical leaves.

## VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Morris Kassel, chairman of the Vocational Education Committee, presented resolutions which were passed as follows:

That the A. F. of T. suggest the application of the merit system to the certification of vocational teachers and urge that this

teacher-training institutions for vocational teachers offer a program equal in quality to that offered for other secondary-school teachers.

That it approve of the revisions of the existing Smith-Hughes and George-Deen Acts and urge that the Education Committee of the A. F. of T. sponsor a national conference on federal aid to education with special emphasis on the issues confronting vocational education, and that all groups be given an opportunity to present their viewpoints.

## AFFILIATIONS

The following resolutions, presented by Lillian Herstein, chairman of the Affiliations Committee, were passed:

That the national Executive Committee of the A. F. of T. investigate the expulsion of Locals from the Chicago Federation of Labor and attempt to have them reinstated.

That the A. F. of T. be commended for its cooperative spirit in the recent peace negotiations and that the A. F. of T. use every resource at its command to bring about the development of unity in the labor movement.

That the A. F. of T. commend the work of the Mexican Federation of Teachers and that a committee of five be set up to develop fraternal relations with the Mexican teachers' union.

## WORKING CONDITIONS

Addie L. Weber, chairman of the Committee on Working Conditions, presented the following resolutions which were passed:

That the AF of T urge all members to work for better working conditions, that all Locals set up a standing committee on working conditions and that this committee consider the following four categories: (1) physical conditions; (2) teacher load; (3) atmosphere of work; (4) security.

That it work for legislation which will provide for benefits to unemployed teachers under the provisions of the federal and state security acts.

## PENSION AND RETIREMENT

A resolution was presented by Erling Tholfsen, chairman of the Pension and Retirement Committee, that the convention endorse the principle that teachers in private schools and colleges, substitute and cadet teachers and teachers deprived of tenure through retrenchment should receive the benefit of social-security legislation; and that the Legislative Committee of the AF of T be instructed to prepare suitable bills and do all in its power to see that these teachers are extended the same protection as other workers.

## EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

Wanda Taeschner, chairman of the National Educational Policies Committee, presented these resolutions which were passed:

That the National Educational Policies Committee publish a description of the work which it is doing, of the work done by various locals and of the significant work which is being carried on by individual researchers.

That the A. F. of T. initiate and support efforts to introduce into the schools a system of genuine consumer education.

That it combat the use of the public schools for the spreading of anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-Negro or anti-alien sentiment and that the Policies Committee work out a positive teaching program on racial and national equality and religious freedom; that this

be done through assembly programs, essay contests and in the conduct of school organizations, clubs and social functions.

That the Policies Committee prepare a bibliography of materials suitable for assembly programs, a list of radio programs, a list of Locals, school systems and organizations carrying on experimental work on education for tolerance, and a description of the nature of the work.

That the A. F. of T. urge the use of schools as recreational centers, centers of evening education for adults, forums for open discussion and meeting places for community organizations concerned with social problems.

That it favor in university administration democratic determination of departmental and divisional affairs by staff members, the inclusion in the faculty of members of the sub-professional ranks, in cases of dismissal the right to written charges, a hearing with counsel before one's colleagues and the right to summon witnesses, and faculty representation on boards of trustees; and that for elementary and secondary education it favor wider participation of teachers in the formulation of educational policies in the following manner: teacher representation on school governing boards, representation on curricula-forming bodies and democratic procedures in department and faculty meetings.

## Reports Show—

(Continued from page 3)

mended to the Board of Education a new salary schedule. At that time, Miss Philley explained, there were five teachers' groups in Gary, but the Union had representatives in all five groups urging them to work as one. The Union also hired an accountant to check the validity of the figures given out by the board. As a result of the Union's work, school essentials have been saved and the teachers are getting higher salaries. A member of organized labor is now president of the school board.

U. F. Hughes, Springfield, Ohio, told how his Union was formed when 37 per cent salary cut was received. By organizing a citizen's committee which applied for a two mill levy which was in turn voted by the town, the Springfield teachers' salaries were restored 100 per cent. Max Diamond, New York City, told the story of the Union's fight against the recent \$10,000,000 cut in New York. Lyle

## NATIONAL DUES

During the months of September, October, and November (1938), the membership of the AF of T dropped to 27,600, 25,300, and 27,400 respectively. It is extremely important in planning the national work of the Union to have the dues for these fall months collected and turned in to the national office.

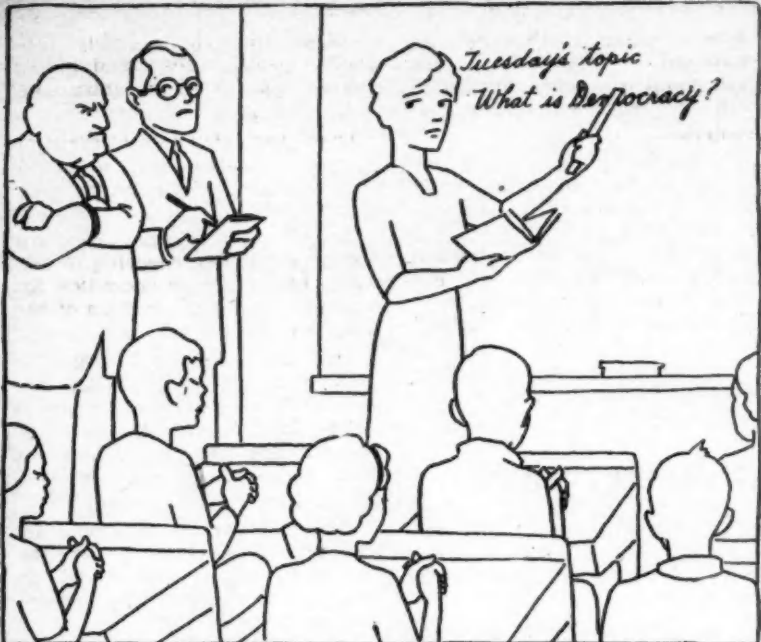
Wolf, Chicago, stressed the advantage of cooperating with other educational organizations.

Michael Eck, Cleveland, Ohio, explained the Ohio State Foundation program which is financed by a sales tax, cigarette tax, and a liquid fuel tax. The Union has been successful in Ohio in securing legislation which will guarantee full financing of state aid for the next two years.

Samuel Drasin, Philadelphia, pictured the under-schooled districts in his state and urged teachers to build an organization powerful enough to defend their interests on both the economic and political front. William Card, legislative representative of the Wisconsin State Federation of Teachers, explained the attack on the schools by the Heil administration and the Union's part in building a broad movement of various groups in the state who have been successful in defeating a sales tax.



## Democracy in Education By Chan



"Oh yes, we discuss democracy in our schools a great deal."

## British Union Head Warns Teachers to Defend Rights

Bringing greetings from 155,000 teachers, President George Chipperfield of the National Union of Teachers of England, urged teachers to unite on a program of child welfare and to defend the civil rights of teachers. Speaking before convention delegates he stressed the absolute political freedom which the union claimed for teachers. He told of two recent cases in which the NUT had been victorious.

Chipperfield indicated that the teachers in England have the right to choose their own textbooks, select their methods of teaching, and admit visitors to the classroom. In some countries on the continent, Mr. Chipperfield explained, teachers have lost their positions for allowing visitors to see what was being done.

The National Union of Teachers representatives meet with the powerful Association of Education Committees, according to the speaker, and reach decisions. Textbooks have been produced under their joint sponsorship and recently the association agreed to finance more adequate apparatus in the schools.

President Chipperfield said that in England children do not go to the school to learn, but they go to school to learn to learn. "It is not our business to turn out mathematical machines or classical scholars," Chipperfield said. "We want our students to learn to think for themselves and to be prepared for life's great adventure. We all desire peace and are prepared to make great sacrifices in order to preserve the democratic nature of our government and, as teachers, we are determined to maintain the freedom we enjoy, both as teachers and as citizens."

## Dr. Reeves Writes for AFT Journal

The October issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER will include an article by Dr. Floyd Reeves, newly appointed director of the American Youth Commission and member of the AF of T, entitled "Youth in a Changing World." The same issue, which will be published in magazine form, will include Dr. Bernard Stern's "Culture in a Democracy."

The November issue will feature a symposium on "Propaganda and Indoctrination" which will contain a lead article by Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick, and comments by a number of outstanding authorities on the subject. The December issue of the American Teacher will contain a symposium on "The Function of Higher Education in a Democracy."

## Congratulate Dairy Farmers

Congratulations to the New York farmers on the substantial gains won for decent working conditions in their recent strike were sent by telegram to Archie Wright, president of the Dairy Farmers' Union, in accordance with a resolution passed at the AF of T convention.

## Personnel Report Suggests Standards for Employment

In a report submitted to the Executive Council, Kermit Eby, chairman of the Personnel Committee, considers some of the problems which the AF of T faces in the selection and retention of Union employees.

In selecting organizers, editors or executive-secretaries, the report suggests that as many candidates as possible be interviewed; if possible successful teachers be employed; and the ability of the person to carry out the policies of the organization be considered.

The report stresses decent working conditions for Union employees, especially since one of the basic aims of the AF of T is decent working conditions for its members. For the same reason methods of tenure for Union employees must be considered.

The chance for professional growth in Union work is the final point in the report. It is in the professionalization of Union work that Mr. Eby sees the hope of avoiding political choices in selecting employees.

A talking book for the blind, contributed to by the Executive Council, will be presented to the Joint Council of Teachers of Erie County who will in turn present it to the Board of Education of Buffalo. This gift is being made by the Executive Council as a token of appreciation to the local Committee on Arrangements and the Buffalo Locals of the AF of T.

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## Union Defends Right to Teach; Fight 48 Cases

Headlining the Academic Freedom report submitted by the National Academic Freedom Committee of the AF of T was the victorious Rowe-Keeney case of the University of Montana. The Supreme Court of the State of Montana in June sustained the verdict of a lower court and ruled that Professor P. O. Keeney's dismissal was a violation of the University's tenure regulations and ordered his reinstatement.

Professor J. P. Rowe was put on a month-to-month tenure at the time of Keeney's dismissal but was restored to permanent tenure in April, 1938. A month before the verdict on the Keeney case was rendered, President Simmons announced to the faculty that if Keeney were reinstated the entire staff would have to take a salary cut in order to provide the money for Keeney's back salary. It was immediately pointed out, however, that the president exaggerated the amount and that since no one had been hired to replace Keeney, the salary owed him should be on hand.

In connection with the Keeney case, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Montana praised the report which was published by the National Academic Freedom Committee and complimented the Union on its efforts "in making academic freedom a reality."

Chairman Arnold Shukotoff's report dealt with 48 specific cases which the Committee handled during the past year. The Committee has compiled a bibliography on academic freedom, submitted a questionnaire to all locals on restrictive legislation and dismissals, prepared a statement on "Principles of Academic Freedom," which was discussed by many AF of T Locals, and continued building its cooperative work with other educational and civic organizations. Complete copies of the report may be had by writing to 235 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

## Delegates Hold Panel on Higher Education

"The Function of Higher Education in a Democracy" was the subject of a panel held Friday morning at the AF of T convention. Vice President George Axtelle was chairman of the discussion which included the following participants: Abraham Edel, the City Colleges of New York, who discussed democratic administration; Hugh Wing, University of Pittsburgh, who spoke on literature in a democracy; Margaret Schlauch, New York University, who discussed the teaching of modern languages and linguistics; Alban Winspear, Uni-

versity of Wisconsin, who spoke on the classics and their meaning for democracy; Joseph W. Cohen, University of Colorado, who discussed the role of philosophy in a democratic society; Bernhard Stern, Columbia University, anthropology and sociology; Dorothy Douglas, Smith College, economics and history; and John De Boer, Chicago Teachers College, who spoke on teacher education.

This panel will probably be published in full in the November issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER.

## Joint Council Convention Host

Anthony J. Bernard, chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, welcomed the delegates to the convention in behalf of the Joint Council of Teachers of Erie County which is made up of the Buffalo Industrial Teachers Association Number 39, the Buffalo Teachers Union Number 377, the Adult Teachers Federation of Erie County, N. Y., Number 547, and the Erie County Teachers Union Number 609.

The Council was responsible for "The Buffalo Teacher" CONVENTION BOOK.

## Two Amendments to Constitution Voted by Locals

The results of the balloting on the two amendments to the AF of T constitution which were submitted in May were announced at the convention as follows: There were 5,628 votes "for" and 3,098 votes "against" the addition to Article III stating that "no discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members because of race, religious faith or political activities or belief."

The addition to Section 6 of Article IV, for which there were 5,142 consenting and 3,379 negative votes, reads as follows: "A charter issued to any Local or State Federation may be revoked by the executive council when the existence of such Local or State Federation is detrimental to the development of democracy in education; such revocation to be subject to the approval of the national convention upon appeal. No such charter shall be revoked if appealed, nor shall any Local be suspended or expelled unless for nonpayment of dues, except by a two-thirds vote of the national convention."

Copies of the abridged proceedings of the twenty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers which was held in Buffalo, N. Y., August 21-25 may be secured from the national office for \$1.00.

## Mead Cautions AFT to Fight Demagoguery

Urging teachers to help meet the threat of demagoguery which America faces today, United States Senator James Mead from New York, an ex-railway switchman, spoke to the delegates of the national convention of the AF of T.

"I have felt," Senator Mead stated, "that the educational fraternity of America, in an attempt to increase the ethics of politics, might shame the politician who would attempt to ride into office by devious methods which might be termed pure demagogism."

Senator Mead berated candidates for office who ran on a "balance the budget" program and at the same time championed the Townsend Pension Plan. He pointed out that recently a candidate was going to balance the budget for president announced that he but was also for "a liberal housing program, work relief, home relief, and more adequate pensions for old folks."

Teachers, Senator Mead stressed know that balancing the budget usually means that employees assume the burden they were carrying in 1932 and 1933. Mead concluded his speech with a history of the New Deal and urged all progressives to unite in 1939-40 to support it.

### Attention AFT Editors

Mats of the cut, "The Growth of the Union," on page 11 of this issue may be secured from the American Teacher, 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, after October 10.

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9. The Constitution of the A. F. T. (Correct as of Oct. 1, 1937) \$2.00 per hundred
10. A Program of Action for Classroom Teachers \$2.00 per hundred
11. A Critical Evaluation of the A. F. T. (Aileen W. Robinson) 50c per copy
12. Accomplishments of the A. F. T. 60c per hundred
13. Teachers Should Organize (Frank Baker) \$2.00 per hundred
14. A Golden Opportunity (Irvin R. Kuenzli) \$2.00 per hundred
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16. Organized Labor and the Public Schools (Irvin R. Kuenzli) 75c per hundred
17. Power—Participation and Union Organization (Elmer A. Benson) 50c per hundred
18. A Challenge to Class-Room Teachers (Blotter) \$1.00 per hundred
19. The National Union of Teachers of England (Elsie V. Parker) \$1.00 per hundred

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# AFT Executive Council for 1939-40



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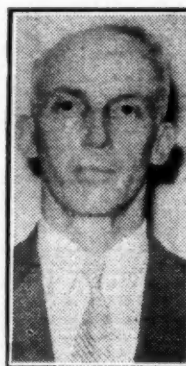
Yeager



Woodruff



Etheredge



Abercrombie



Iglehart



Dearborn

## MARY HERRICK

Vice president from the Illinois-Indiana Area . . . a member of the AF of T since 1922 and president of Local 3 from 1933 to 1936 . . . former vice president of Local 1 . . . has served as student YWCA secretary at Ohio State, recreation and camp director for several institutions and organizations, social worker and executive secretary of the Girl Reserves.

Miss Herrick has her B.A. from Northwestern University and her M.A. from the University of Chicago . . . has served as teacher in several high schools and is now teaching in the social sciences at DuSable High School, Chicago.

## GEORGE E. AXTELLE

Vice president from the College Section . . . charter member and former president of Local 460; now president of Local 635 . . . editor of the 1940 Yearbook of the John Dewey Society and member of the editorial committee of the AMERICAN TEACHER.

Degrees from University of Washington, University of Hawaii and University of California . . . principal and superintendent in Oregon, 1920-24; head of training school and experimental school in Honolulu, 1924-30; principal, Oakland, Calif., 1930-35; Northwestern University School of Education 1935—.

## STANTON E. SMITH

Vice president from Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi . . . joined the AF of T in 1932, helped to organize Local 246 and has been its president since organization . . . organized three locals in Tennessee and Alabama and helped in getting several others started . . . served four-year term as labor member of the Electric Power Board of Chattanooga which operates the new municipal distribution system there.

Denison University gave Mr. Smith his A. B. and he took further work at the Universities of Wisconsin and Chattanooga . . . has taught mathematics in the Chattanooga High School for the past nine years . . . was on leave of absence last year in order to work as a full-time AF of T organizer in the South.

## ARTHUR ELDER

Vice president from the Michigan Area . . . formerly president of the Michigan Federation of Teachers and now its executive secretary . . . promoted the Michigan tenure law, lobbied on tenure legislation in 1937 and did more to get it through than anyone else.

Mr. Elder is at present teaching in the Detroit schools.

## C. J. HENDLEY

Vice president for the New York Area . . . AF of T member since 1919 . . . for ten years treasurer of Local 5 and its president since 1935.

Mr. Hendley has his A.B. from the University of North Carolina and his M.A. from Columbia University . . . taught seven years in the South, for several years in Pennsylvania mining towns and seventeen years in New York City . . . history teacher in George Washington High School, New York City, since 1921.

## DOXEY A. WILKERSON

Vice president at large . . . president of his own Local, Number 440, Howard Teachers Union . . . serves as a member of the research staff of the President's Advisory Committee on Education . . . member of the National Advisory Committee on WPA Education Program and of the editorial staff of the "Journal of Negro Education" . . . chairman of the Sub-Committee on Guidance Manual of the National Vocational Guidance Association, director of a WPA research project and consultant on the radio series, "Americans All—Immigrants All."

A.B. and M.A. from University of Kansas and graduate work at the University of Michigan . . . was at the Virginia State College for eight years and for the past four years associate professor of education and director of the summer school at Howard University . . . now on leave of absence to be a member of the research staff of the Carnegie Study of the Negro in America . . . has just completed a staff study of the Advisory Committee, "Special Problems of Negro Education."

## MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN

Vice president from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware . . . national legislative representative of the AF of T and former member of the National Educational Policies Committee . . . appeared before the President's Advisory Committee as one of the AF of T representatives.

Degree from University of Pennsylvania and graduate work at Columbia University; later certified for library practice, Drexel Institute . . . has taught at Vane Junior High School, Philadelphia, for the past 11 years.

## IRVIN R. KUENZLI

Secretary-treasurer . . . president of the Springfield, Ohio, Federation of Teachers 1934-35; president of the Ohio Federation of Teachers 1934-36; national vice president 1936-37 . . . president of the Ohio Classical Conference for four years; president of the

**The Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers is composed of fifteen vice presidents, the national president and the national executive secretary. Under the AF of T constitution, the executive secretary does not have voting power.**

Springfield Teachers' Association; member of the permanent Education Committee of the A. F. of T.; member of the International Committee on Education, Paris Exposition.

Mr. Kuenzli received his A.B. and M.A. from Wittenberg College and was head of the Latin department of the Springfield high schools for fourteen years.

## GERTRUDE LUEHNING

Vice president from Southwest Area . . . charter member, secretary and, this year, president of Local 442 as well as treasurer of the California State Federation . . . serves as vice president of the local Consumer Cooperative Society, officer of the local Credit Union and council member of Western Consumers Union.

A. B. from Chicago State Teachers College with graduate work at the University of Washington . . . for the past nine years Miss Luehning has taught home economics in the Palo Alto Junior High School.

## ROBENIA ANTHONY

Vice president from New England . . . helped to establish the Union in Springfield, Mass., and was vice president of the State Council for two years . . . former president of the Teachers' Club and twice president of the High School Women Teachers' Club, Miss Anthony has recently been fighting for the right of married women to work . . . member of committees for Spanish relief and Chinese relief; also member of Civil Liberties Union and of Committee for forums in Hampshire County.

Graduate of Boston University . . . has taught all grades and done adult education work for several years . . . English teacher in the Classical High School, Springfield, for the past twenty-five years.

## S. AMELIA YEAGER

Vice president from Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska . . . has been secretary-treasurer and president of Local 35 and president of the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers . . . served eight years as delegate from Local 35 to the Madison Federation of Labor . . .

member of Credit Committee of the Madison School Employees Credit Union.

B. A. from University of Wisconsin . . . Phi Beta Kappa . . . taught Latin in Decorah, Ia., and Riverside High School, Milwaukee, Wis. . . now teaching Latin and ancient history in Central High School, Madison, Wis.

## JOHN WOODRUFF

Vice president from Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma . . . treasurer of Local 462 . . . educated at the University of Texas and the National University of Mexico . . . spent six years in Mexico, Central and South America with oil companies and two years in Mexico and Texas as newspaper reporter.

Taught four years in Goose Creek junior high school and adult vocational classes . . . this year will be assistant to supervisor of adult vocational education in eastern Texas, specializing in vocational training for oil-field workers.

## CHARLES M. ETHEREDGE

Vice president from Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia . . . president of Local 422 in Richmond County, Ga. . . served as secretary and is now a member of the Board of Trustees of the Augusta Central Labor Union.

Received his A.B. from Newberry College and did graduate work at the University of South Carolina . . . served as principal of three rural schools and for the past twelve years has taught mathematics at The Academy of Richmond County in Augusta . . . is also athletic director there.

## RAY E. ABERCROMBIE

Vice president from Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia . . . charter member and first and only president of the Cincinnati Local to date . . . former vice president and now member of the Executive Committee of the Ohio Federation of Teachers . . . delegate and chairman of the Educational Committee of the Central Labor Council of Cincinnati.

Graduate of Stout Institute and took graduate work at the University of Cincinnati . . . industrial arts teacher in Cincinnati public schools since 1913.

## ROBERT IGLEHART

Vice president from the Northwest Area . . . attended Baltimore City College, Maryland Institute of Fine Arts and Johns Hopkins University . . . was awarded a scholarship in 1934-35 on which he went to Europe . . . taught at the Maryland Institute of Fine Arts, was an assistant at

Teachers College, Columbia, and is now at the School of Art, University of Washington . . . also worked as a commercial and industrial designer.

Mr. Iglehart teaches art theory and industrial design and is interested in the relationship of the artist to the machine and the effect of this relationship upon art history . . . feels that a strong trade-union movement is necessary to build a culture worthy of a great democracy.

## NED H. DEARBORN

WPA vice president . . . member of Local 537 and of the New York State Teachers Association . . . is on the boards of directors of the "Social Frontier," "Current History," Council of One Hundred of the American Association for Adult Education and Institute for Propaganda Analysis; member of the John Dewey Society; on the Advisory Committee of the New York City Board of Education on WPA Projects in Adult Education, the Yearbook Committee of the Adult Education Department of the NEA and on the Advisory Board of Radio in Adult Education, Adult Education Project, Board of Education of the City of New York.

Dr. Dearborn received his B.S., A.M. and Ph.D. degrees from Columbia . . . after extensive teaching experience in Pennsylvania and New York State, became director of the Division of Teacher Training, State Education Department, Albany, 1925-29; director of the Institute of Education, 1929-34; professor of education, New York University, in 1929 and is now dean of the Division of General Education there . . . he is the author of a number of articles and books.

## Protest Cuts

A strong recommendation that the full school program in New York City be continued until all means have been exhausted for obtaining a supplementary budget was made in a telegram sent to the New York City superintendent of schools. The message stated that such action "seems very reasonable to us since a new session of the legislature will meet next January."

A large number of graduate students during the past year have prepared theses and seminar studies on the AF of T and other phases of the labor movement. Requests for information on the growth, history, program and objectives of the Union have come into the national office from many states, indicating an increase of interest in the history of labor and education.



# Report of the Educational Policies Committee

## Children Need Greater Freedom in Grade School

by ROBERT K. SPEER  
New York, N. Y. (Local 537)

A CARTOON APPEARED in the metropolitan press just a few years ago in the month of June. It showed a young June graduate coming down from the academic halls dressed in academic garb with a scroll under her arm. On the side of the cartoon was Old Man World. He was looking on with a great deal of concern at the enthusiasm of this young June graduate. From the legend you discovered that as he said to her, "Why your great enthusiasm?" It ends by asking, "And what is that you have under your arm?"

The young June graduate says, "This is my graduation day and this under my arm is my A.B."

Old Man World replies, "Now, young lady, you come along with me and I'll teach you the rest of the alphabet."

It is tragic that after sixteen years of systematic education a great many people have come to believe that the young June graduate is about to be foisted upon a world for which he or she is almost totally unprepared.

### Lack of Training Brings Recent Citizenship Impasse

It is an interesting and important fact that in this country we have upwards of thirty million boys and girls who are between the ages of six and seventeen and these boys and girls are going to have to meet the problems of an economic, social and political world. These problems are becoming increasingly great. In recent years they have brought about what almost amounts to an impasse in citizenship. This impasse is frequently and significantly revealed by a lack of trained intelligence on the part of the rank and file of our people in dealing with their collective affairs.

I intend to lead off with a series of questions, for which most of the teacher groups in this country do not have answers. Let us start with posing a few questions.

Should education be a factor in social regeneration?

Should education contribute its mite to social improvement?

May schools as one agency of education be expected to assist other agencies to the end of beneficial social change?

Are young people to be trained to accept current society or are they to be so educated that they will be impelled to modify it?

Are they to accept it blindly or to criticize it intelligently?

Are educators obliged to investigate the merits and deficiencies of our current order?

Are we to question even our institutions and to lead our charges (our pupils, our children) to discover and to question social injustice?

I think all decent-minded people and socially enlightened people really wish to have education so organized that we and our children may be impelled to improve the social, economic and the political conditions under which we live.

I could go on with a great many questions:

Are controversial matters to be introduced into the curriculum or are our young people to be shielded from the problems and issues of current society?

### Should Schools Guide Young Citizens in Solving Problems?

These are the very problems with which our older high-school boys and girls will have to wrestle almost immediately. Are the schools to guide them to the means by which they may for themselves build a deep understanding of the fundamental problems and crucial issues of contemporary civilization?

I want to spend a little time on the reactions of some youngsters to a study made several years ago by Hyman Meltzer on children's conceptions of certain nouns. On "Trade Union," which is appropriate to us, the highest common conception was: "Pay dues, have set wages, conditions." The second highest conception was: "Trade with different countries." The third was: "Union that trades

## A Panel Discussion

led by

WANDA TAESCHNER, Chairman  
National Educational Policies Committee

LAST YEAR the National Educational Policies Committee gave the convention an analysis of events in this country as they related to the curtailment and reduction of American public education; not only the curtailment and reduction of it, but the re-direction of it in this country as well. Then we described for you a program which we asked you to introduce in your communities so that intelligent support could be developed and coordinated for a new education to meet present needs. In other words, we were asking you to assume in your communities the leadership for that re-direction of education which we saw taking place.

We wish to practice on you that program which we are asking you to initiate and to develop in your communities. The members of this panel desire to excite your interest and to implicate you as you are to implicate

the members of your community in a re-examination of the program and the practices going on in the classrooms throughout the public schools in the United States.

We hope to show you one of the techniques that the National Educational Policies Committee recommended for exciting and implicating the people of your community in this big problem of formulating a program by and for the people. We hope, moreover to do this by raising the issue of the role of subject matter in the classroom and a practical classroom program for developing this democratic pattern of life that we have all been talking about at this convention. Thirdly, we hope to indicate to you what successful committees have done throughout the country in doing this job that we are talking about at the same time that we are raising an issue with you.

a lot." The fourth was: "Union for people who do commerce."

Only one in twenty had the conception of "Cooperation of men for wages." Only one in twenty had the conception of "Regulate hours of pay." Only one in twenty had the conception of "Protect workers—set wages." Just as many had the conception of "Men in business (stores) bound together."

In the treatment of children's conception of labor and the essential conception to life and understanding, among the ten most frequent conceptions of "Division of Labor" appear the following: "Kinds of work"; "Don't know"; "Division of places where industries are"; "Different kinds of labor in different places"; "Difference between union and non-union."

Among the ten most frequent conceptions of "Open Shop" appear the following: "Don't know" (that's first); "Door open for business" (that's second); "Shop open and working" (that's third); "Booth in street" (that's sixth); "Position open—no distinction as to color or race" (ninth); "Work on outside" (tenth).

### Child Conceptions Reveal Lack of Social Understanding

Among the ten most frequent children's conceptions of "Large-scale Production" are: "Don't know"; "Making scales in large quantities"; "Weighing large things"; "Sell great deal of scales."

And listen to this! The most frequent child conception of "Industrial Revolution" is the one word "Strike."

Maybe this is not as tragic as it appears at first glance.

We can agree we are not going to expose young children to crucial adult problems which they cannot in some way or other affect; but, just as there is an arithmetic in elementary school that is important in a building up that one may understand and learn, certainly there is a background in economic and political thinking that is necessary as a background when children are more mature.

What is the background in the elementary school for understanding of the social, economic and political problems in the high school? We certainly could agree that even with our little babies on the lower-school level we can do much in developing certain social attitudes—

activities that are crucial to living together in a democracy.

Different people have published reports but I will quote from the published report of Rugg and Krueger. They list the following typical attitudes which they consider the course should develop and which they feel are crucial to living together:

"First: Respect for personality; willingness to let other persons develop their own personalities."

In addition to that, an admiration for the fine qualities of "self" in other people.

"Second: The scientific attitude of mind which constantly questions, 'Have I all the necessary facts?' 'Are my facts reliable?' 'Is there more to be said on the other side?'"

By that is meant a sane, constructive but questioning attitude toward "authority."

"Third: Receptiveness to change; expectation that modes of living will change in one's own time more rapidly than in the past; willingness to consider criticisms of established ways of living and to permit the experimental trial of new ways."

"Fourth: Respect for achievement; the achievement of other persons and groups within the school, the community, or the national respect for the achievements, cultures and ways of living of other nations and races."

On the elementary level we are now restricted to method, process and attitude. We are developing a synthesized content. There is an inclination on the part of high-school and college people, however, to think that when it comes to reconstructive thinking and the democratic thinking there is little to be done on the elementary level.

We have much to contribute on an elementary level. You cannot take a docile youngster from the sixth or eighth grade and expect him to be suddenly analytical, critical and democratically inclined in the high school just as you cannot take a docile youngster from the twelfth grade and expect him suddenly to be analytical, critical and democratically inclined in the college. There is a great deal that we can do in the elementary schools and I think that probably the process begins in the kindergarten, or I hope in the future, in the nursery schools.

## Democratize High School, Axtelle Urges

by GEORGE E. AXTELLE  
Evanston, Ill. (Local 635)

ANY EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM creates the mentality, habits, attitudes and dispositions that are essential to the perpetuation of a peculiar society of which it is an integral part. There is no question but that it does. A fascist society, a communist society, an aristocratic society moulds the schools in order to create the kind of personalities that is essential to perpetuate the order in which those schools find themselves. We pay allegiance to the democratic tradition.

The motto of the American Federation of Teachers has undoubtedly expressed the sentiment of American education but, unfortunately, American education has been very much confused about that sentiment. We have failed to recognize the fact that American education in tradition is aristocratic. Our system of education was borrowed from aristocratic societies and has maintained the structure in selection of subject matter or indication procedures that were involved in an aristocratic society.

May I point out, for example, that the secondary school is commonly referred to as a preparatory school. Preparatory for what? Preparatory for higher institutions. What has been the function of these higher institutions? Historically, their function has been to train the people for the ministry, for the law and for leisure-class occupations.

### Maintaining Democratic Culture Is Important Task of Schools

Democracy in the schools, however, must take seriously the problem of creating the mentality, attitudes and dispositions that are essential to the maintenance of a democratic culture.

In the first place, we must create the kind of a school which will produce children with self-confidence, self-respect, initiative, originality; youngsters that have sufficient confidence in themselves as persons to assume initiative, to be original, to have a sense of responsibility to common ends; a sense of communality; the capacity to identify one's self in common purposes and pursue those common purposes; the capacity to translate the self into terms of ideals that are common to group interests; a conscientiousness, a sincerity, directness, straightforwardness.

That can come only from children who have self-confidence, who have self-respect; in whom there is not the fear of discipline—that is, of an external discipline—but rather a sense of obligation to one's fellows and one's own ideals; a respect for the personalities of others; a generosity, a sympathetic understanding of widely differing positions as intensely as a person may feel one's own position.

It is imperative in a democracy that we develop a vigorous tolerance of others' positions without at the same time weakening the aggressiveness of our own action.

Obviously, it involves in a society such as ours a flexibility, a capacity to re-adjust, to take new positions, to criticize, to re-evaluate old positions. It means an open, critical-mindedness. This is not an exclusive list. I have not named them all by any means, but I have to move on. Finally, I would say it is necessary to develop a critical, flexible system of values in terms of which one's basic thinking is guided, and also his action.

Democracy's schools must do these things if they are to achieve those ends, if they are to be schools for democracy. In the first place, they must reorganize themselves in terms of their own administrative relationships. The administrative relationships within the school must be, themselves, democratic.

In the second place, the educative process must likewise be democratized. If we are to secure critical-mindedness, if we are to secure initiative and experimental, sensitive outlook, then obviously the situation in the classroom must be one that is experimental.

Third, we must democratize the subject matter of the schools. May I point

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# Emphasize Student Needs in Training of Teachers

by JOHN J. DE BOER  
Chicago, Ill. (Local 1)

WE HEAR a great deal these days about how bad the schools are, but I suppose they have improved some since the days when I attended high school and wrote reams upon reams of conjugations of unconjugable verbs and wrote a biography of the stag which was reputed at eve to have "drunk his fill where danced the moon on Monan's rill." But we still have a long way to go and I think that the malady that afflicts us most seriously is a fear of life and of the issues that life presents.

Somewhat or other, we always retreat from the burning issues, from the important issues, and I take some illustrations from literature. We teach Whittier's "Barefoot Boy," but we don't teach Whittier's "Clerical Oppressors," the poem he wrote after a congress of ministers passed a resolution condemning the abolition movement; when Whittier admonished them "to thank the Lord that from the toiling bondsman's bitter need ye pile your own full board." We don't teach that. We teach the pretty little things about the daffodils and the sunbeams, but the things that are important we neglect, we omit.

I don't say we do so intentionally. I simply say that it is part of the psychology of the school program to avoid things that are significant. We like to teach Browning's little poem from "Pippa Passes," in which he describes an eight-year-old working girl on her only holiday of the year as singing:

*The year's at the spring,  
The day's at the morn,  
Morning's at seven,  
The hillside's dew-pearled;  
God's in His Heaven,  
All's right with the world.*

But we don't teach Mrs. Browning's poem:

*Don't you hear the children weeping,  
Oh, my brothers!  
Ere the sorrow comes with years,  
They are weeping in the playtime  
of the others  
In the country of the free.*

We are afraid, just a little afraid, of that kind of poetry.

We teach Hazlitt's pretty essay on the fight, telling about his boyhood experiences when the children from across the tracks threw stones at each other, but we don't teach them to read Paul Anderson's description of the Memorial Day massacre near the Republic Steel Corporation in Chicago.

And did it ever occur to you how pretty these little progressive education units are? We like to take them from the South Sea Islands, from Alaska and from the Eskimos. Take the one on Spain: the description of the senoritas and the costumes and the dances and all the colorful life of Spain. You can go through a whole unit on Spain and never discover that it was a land drenched with the blood of patriots defending their homeland against fascist invaders. You could go through a complete unit on China and never get beyond the kimono and the chop sticks. You would never learn that within the last month a school filled with children was bombed by Japanese bombs, or that hospitals, libraries, universities and schools were destroyed.

## More Significant Subject Matter Is Schools' Need

We talk a great deal about the subject matter and its place in education, and there is an opinion afoot that what we need is less subject matter in progressive schools. It isn't less subject matter that we need; it is more significant subject matter.

In the case of the education of the teacher, the subject matter is the child. That is his job. The job of the prospective teacher is to study the child.

Let's consider a moment what is the subject matter he learns. The teacher who is going into the high school to teach English or science studies for four years or more in his special field, takes a few hours of education (and swears under his breath while he does it) because the state legislature or somebody required it, and goes into the classroom.

One administrator of a high school said recently—this happened to be a junior college but the problem is very much the same—that he had no trouble getting Ph.D.'s for his faculty, but when he interviewed a Ph.D. in English he

found that this person was expert in the discussion of Chaucer documents but didn't have the slightest notion about what young people in the junior-college level like to read. He could get Ph.D.'s in science who knew all about the respiratory system of the grasshopper but who didn't know the problems that young people had in taking care of their health.

Imagine the situation that would obtain if medical students were required to take only fifteen hours of professional work in preparation for their profession. Any horse doctor takes more professional work than a teacher, and what profession is more important than that which has to do with the personal, mental and emotional development of children.

We read a great deal these days about training teachers to do remedial reading, and I have seen teachers attempt to do remedial reading with children who come from homes in which there are no books and in which no one else reads. These same children spend their time in schools where there are no books except the uniform textbooks that all the children are supposed to read under compulsion. Then the pupil is referred to a remedial reading teacher or to a psychologist, to give more drills in the very type of thing that produces the reading casualty.

I am painting a dismal picture, and I

think there is another side to it. I think that excellent work has been done in many places in the United States, notably at New College, unfortunately deceased. At Broad Oaks in Michigan, in Milwaukee and many other places promising experiments are going forward in the reformation of the education of teachers, but we need a program which will be centered about the job of preparing young people for life in a democracy.

It isn't enough simply to know and to understand the children. It is important also to know what the aim, what the purpose of all of this is. It seems to me that we can very well adopt as our fundamental purpose the development of democratic attitudes to life in a democratic society.

I think there has been a great deal of dispute, and still is a great deal of dispute as to what we mean when we say, "training for democracy," and I want to take two couplets from Whitman which I think summarize in general the genus of democracy.

The one runs like this:  
*To be servile to none, to defer to none,  
Not to any tyrant, known or unknown;  
To confront with your personality  
All the other personalities of the earth.*

And then there is another factor which he describes in his "Hymn to Democracy" in these words:

*I will plant companionship thick as trees  
along all the rivers of America,  
and along the shores of the great lakes,  
and all over the prairies,*

*I will make inseparable cities with their  
arms about each other's necks,  
By the love of comrades.  
By the manly love of comrades.*

## STREAMLINING SUBJECT MATTERS

Latin

Social Sciences

English

by AMELIA YEAGER  
Madison, Wis. (Local 35)

IT WOULD APPEAR to many people that Latin and ancient history would be excellent targets for anybody who is out gunning for subjects to eliminate from the curriculum, but I have no fear for either of those subjects if they are in the hands of a teacher who has a social conscience. The very fact that Latin is a dead language makes it increasingly alive every day.

That sounds rather paradoxical and I am going to explain it in this way: The very fact that Latin is not spoken in its real form means that the children do not spend a great deal of time acquiring a vocabulary which will enable them to say, "Pass the salt and pepper," or "Pass the bread and butter," or something of that sort, but instead they acquire a vocabulary which enables them to read stories even in simple Latin, and certainly in Latin literature, which deal with the fundamentals of human nature.

I am convinced that Latin literature is an energizing force in character building and in making for good citizenship. Again and again the pupil is made aware that the Rome estate not only idealized but demanded in practice of the individual responsibility and the subordination of selfish interests to the common good.

One has a chance to tell the story of Gaius or Tiberius Gracchi, by what names they are known when they grow up, because these characters are not fictitious characters; they are real characters. There a mother had instilled them with a sympathy for people who were less fortunate than they and with a desire to help them.

At this point I usually stimulate the interest of my pupils by saying that the story of these two boys always reminds me of this comic strip: "Born thirty years too soon."

Again in the study of word derivation, take, for example, the word "radical" which is in disrepute. It is derived from the Latin "radix," which means root, and, therefore, the noun really means a person who gets to the bottom of things, who traces an effect to its real cause.

Latin is far more than case endings and verb terminations. It enables a person to contrast such subjects as these: Roman and American political parties; voting in Rome and America; representative government then and now; agrarian measures; the concentration of wealth; the relief problem; the dole; official trips at government expense; foreign investments in time of trouble; fear of electing a radical; proposed suggestions for meeting the financial situation.

Again I may say, however, that the attitude of the teacher is of great importance. The subject matter must be made realistic to the child. The child must be shown how to interpret his present situation in the light of the past.

by R. W. MARSHALL  
Chicago, Ill. (Local 571)

AS A HIGH-SCHOOL TEACHER in the social-science field, I want very briefly to call attention to a problem we all face, but of which the teacher of social science is bound to be especially aware and which he perhaps is in a position to do more about than others.

You believe in democracy—at least I would back this group against any group that gathers in America today as believers in the democratic way of life. So it is natural to ask, What are you doing in your school to see that democracy remains the basis of our form of government? What are you doing besides attacking other rival ideologies and those who believe that they are to be preferred to democracy?

I maintain that the continual attacking of any or of all of the so-called foreign "isms" and the exhibiting of a very pronounced and obvious fear complex in regard to them, is not calculated to instill into the young people of today confidence that democracy is the best form of government.

I believe that I have detected the reaction against these continual attacks and that if you will do a little probing you will uncover the same reaction. If I know the way young people react, they are getting suspicious—suspicious that if we must be at such pains to attack rival ideas there must be some merit in them.

In love, if you are trying to advance your cause, it is not considered—by experts—to be good, effective technique to spend all your time disparaging your rivals. None of you would do it. Better build up a case for yourself as the great American lover! In business you get suspicious of the merchant and his wares who devotes too much time to pointing out the flaws in the merchandise of his competitors.

It has always seemed to me that one mistake we make more than any other is that we assume too much about the young people we teach. In every subject and at every level we assume, for instance, that they know more than they do, or that they accept certain concepts just because we do.

When you get back to your classroom, take pains to learn whether your students are as sold on democracy as you have been thinking they were—or as you are. You will get, I predict, a shock. If you tell them that democracy is worth fighting for—again—they won't get it. They know that democracy is sort of traditional in these parts but they want to know what is so valuable about it that makes it worth fighting for. And they are asking you. And then at that point you start to attack the governments of Italy, Russia and Germany.

Is that the only or the best technique for teaching democracy? That is the question I want to leave with you.

## Axtelle—

(Continued from page 7)

out again that the subject matter of the schools as we now know it is the subject matter of an aristocratic society. History and social sciences are largely rationalizations of things as they are rather than being an effort to discover the roots of contemporary problems, to trace their developments and to see the possibilities that lie within the present situation for achieving our deepest needs and interests.

For democracy's schools the languages and literature must help young children to gain a sympathetic appreciation of people in relation to their cultures. But it must be the kind of appreciation of people that is not an idle, decorative, leisure-class possession. It must rather be one which helps them to analyze their own immediate life problems more intelligently and more effectively. It enables them to understand human nature as they meet it day by day so that, as Bob Speer says, they don't go to school sixteen years and then come out upon an unsuspecting world—or, at least, unsuspectingly on the world—but that they have been living in that world all the time.

Finally, the sciences and mathematics have sort of become a leisure-class subject matter, or a subject matter for specialists. They are organized as though these little children or young people were themselves to become specialized experts in these various fields. These materials have to be organized in terms of their significance to laymen.

by ROBENIA ANTHONY  
Springfield, Mass. (Local 484)

MY SUBJECT is English composition and literature—high school. For three minutes I will try to show you how in teaching that subject I try at the same time to train for good democratic living.

First I try to develop a critical judgment. I try to arouse intellectual curiosity so that my students will ask pertinent questions. I try to teach them to respect the opinion of experts because in their naive way they think we are all equal, our opinions are equally good, "No one knows any more than I do." In teaching them to respect the opinion of experts I try to break down the authority of the spoken and written word—the fact, "I saw it in a book, it must be true"—all the time stressing social and economic conditions.

In literature, in character development, we study the effect of an environment on character and the effect of environment on crime. We study people's motives so that we can understand why they act that way.

In composition we paraphrase. We paraphrase in order to discriminate among connotations, because it is the connotations that get us. That is how the propagandists get us. Patriotism and fighting—the same thing. CIO, Communist, Russia—the same thing.

We use modern essays—Lord Bryce's especially is a good one; American characteristics as molding public opinion. They must always give present-day examples—not his.

The second thing I try to work for is to have them learn the contributions of foreign cultures. We read foreign literatures in translation. We explode or explain away the myth of racial superiority. We stress the accident of birth. Therefore, we teach tolerance. In composition we examine our prejudices.

The third thing, and I think the most important, that I try to work for is to train them to have a belief in common humanity. I try to fight the cynicism that gives lip service to democracy and distrusts and despises the poor. Of course, we speak of Shakespeare's opinion of the masses. We speak of Hawthorne—in the *House of the Seven Gables* the beautiful passage of the power of the dead hand.

In composition we summarize editorials. That gives us a chance to define terms that we see all the time and have to hear—the social, economic and political terms. We have spontaneous discussion, with a chairman chosen by themselves. We write and talk on these questions: "Is the majority always right?" "If it is not right, why is a democracy better than a beneficent despot?" Then we learn why it is better: that it is better to learn from our own mistakes than to be guided in every step.



## New York Local Describes Work of Policies Body

by SAMUEL WALLACH  
New York, N. Y. (Local 5)

**A**N EDUCATIONAL POLICIES committee in any Local has a dual task. First, it has to help to formulate educational policies; secondly, and just as important, it must carry on an active campaign to see that these educational policies actually become realized.

I think that as it tries to effectuate these educational policies it begins to learn more about how to formulate these policies, because it learns a very interesting lesson in democracy. It learns that an educational policies committee cannot sit down in a quiet room and think up an interesting educational policy and then go out to the community and try to put it across. It is almost impossible. It learns very quickly that if you want to effectuate an educational program, the thing to do is to enlist in the very formulation of this educational policy as many people as you possibly can, because only when people help to make educational policies will they actually fight to put these policies into effect.

I would like to describe the work of the Educational Policies Committee of Local 5 in New York City. I do this for two reasons. I hope first that the discussion will bring out some of the things we might have done better. Secondly, I do it in the modest hope that many of the delegates will get inspiration and ideas and suggestions which they can take back to their own Locals.

### Activity Program Brings Teachers to Union for Guidance and Aid

The Educational Policies Committee of Local 5 in New York contains a number of subcommittees: the Elementary School Subcommittee, the High School Subcommittee, the Social Studies Subcommittee and the Conference Subcommittee.

Then a very interesting thing happened two years ago. It seems that the board of education in New York City decided that the activity program was a good thing, and so some magic words were said and a number of elementary school teachers who had been teaching in the old fashioned way suddenly became activity-program teachers. They turned in all directions for help. They wanted to know what an activity program really meant, and they wanted guidance and courses. They came to the Teachers Union.

The Union offered a course called "The Activity Program" and the first of the year 250 people enrolled in that course. I venture to say it was one of the most successful courses in education in New York City. Teachers themselves actually gave the course. Labor classes were held, and so on. In short, the Union became established as the authority on the activity program in New York City.

Last year we continued to give this very popular course in the activity program. An extension was made for people who had taken it the first semester and that second part was called "The Child and the Curriculum," where advanced work was taken up.

The High School Committee, in response to the request of a good many people in the high schools who were troubled about curriculum revision, conducted a seminar which was attended by over twenty representatives from various high schools in New York City.

### Parents Join Teachers in Discussing School Problems

In the fall the Elementary School Committee conducted a fall conference on "The Child and the Curriculum," in which teachers and parents and supervisors discussed various problems.

The most ambitious project of the Educational Policies Committee was its annual Spring Conference. As chairman of the Conference Committee it has been my job all through the year to excite people about our annual conferences.

I want you to try to visualize one of the largest ballrooms in the United States, in the Hotel Astor, with two tiers. I want you to try to visualize about 3,500 people seated in this grand ballroom. After they spent two hours in the morning at ten forums discussing various educational problems, they sat in the grand ballroom following lunch listening to various outstanding speakers. I want to assure you that the enthusiasm and the interest of public-school

teachers, of parents, of labor representatives, of youth representatives, of civic officials, was something that it is impossible to describe or to capture. You actually have to be there to feel the enthusiasm, the emotion, the real spirit of that audience of 3,500 people. It was really an inspiring thing and we had the feeling that we were actually accomplishing the thing that the National Educational Policies Committee had urged us to do. We believed that we had a true cross-section of the community, democratically discussing and formulating educational policy.

It makes a world of difference when all of these people do the formulation, because it means that all of these people will sincerely believe in and fight for the carrying out of these policies.

The various morning forums were on topics such as: Jobs for Youth; Culture in a Democracy; Curriculum Revision in the Elementary, Junior and Senior High

School; Questions of Opportunities for Negroes. There were ten very vital, very important topics, in which all of the people are very much interested.

I would like to see this type of conference become a model for all of the locals. I think it offers a splendid opportunity to do two things: first, to get all of the committees coordinating their work and pointing their work towards an annual conference; secondly, and most important, such a conference becomes a people's conference. It actually involves the various organizations in the community in a discussion of educational problems.

Last year we initiated an annual award. We set up a Judges Committee, made up of Bishop McConnell, Floyd Reeves, Jr., Raymond Walsh and a number of other outstanding citizens. After long deliberations, they took the various nominees for the award and selected Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

## Philadelphia Develops Study On Making of Curriculum

by GOLDIE ERVIN  
Philadelphia, Pa. (Local 192)

**W**E BELIEVE that the preservation and extension of democracy rests upon educators. We know that we will have completed our task only when a belief in and a respect for democracy is developed not only in teachers but in administrators, parents and children. To do this job we dared not continue to theorize. We had to take our philosophy out of the conference rooms of our union hall into the hearts and minds of the people of Philadelphia. Only in a system where democratic procedure is exhibited daily before both teachers and pupils is it possible to develop a belief in democracy. Our Professional Problems Committee therefore initiated a conference of teacher organizations on democratization.

In our committee meetings teachers told of their experiences—their successes, their failures. We felt that these experiences were priceless and so the *Workshop* was born. It is published twice annually. We can proudly say that the *Workshop* offers specific techniques for providing our children with experiences that will lead to logical thinking and cooperative living.

It also happens that Union teachers in Philadelphia intend to be in the forefront in curriculum revision. So that we might be prepared, we made a detailed study of the process of curriculum-making. From this study came a "Union philosophy" of curriculum-making.

### Administration Must Lead Fight on Spread of Fascism

Early in the year it became evident that various fascist groups were making great headway in their efforts to spread anti-Semitic and anti-Negro propaganda in our schools. In one junior high school several near race riots occurred—one incident might very well be called a race riot. In another, a petition was circulated to boycott Jews. We took the petition that the administration must play a leading role in combatting this situation.

We sent a committee of five to discuss the problem with our acting superintendent. We told him that we believed that he could dramatically bring before the teachers of Philadelphia the necessity of teaching racial and religious tolerance through: (1) vital changes in school curricula; (2) establishment of forums; (3) radio programs; and (4) holiday letters. As a result of this meeting, Dr. Louis Nusbaum, acting superintendent, issued a very fine statement in regard to celebration of Armistice Day.

A few weeks after this meeting the board of education sponsored a series of radio broadcasts dramatizing contributions of various racial and national groups.

I cannot close without relating the facts of the Freelon case. I feel that this is one of the greatest services rendered in the cause of democracy by our Local in the past year.

We have a peculiar set-up in Philadelphia, in that we have ten solid Negro schools manned and the entire population Negro.

Seventeen years ago Allan Freelon, a promising young artist, passed the examination for supervisor in art education. He was appointed but he was not assigned as the other supervisors were assigned. He was told to skip all over town to these ten Negro schools. This he did for fifteen years.

Two years ago we began to open our vocational schools. Mr. Freelon was the only supervisor among nine who was capable of supervising certain subjects.

By the end of that term it was decided that we might try this strange man in a district, and so he was assigned to a district. Before he was allowed to go out, he was re-assigned, this time to supervise all junior high schools and vocational schools in Philadelphia.

The Negroes of Philadelphia were justly proud. The Negro press all over the country carried the story. We felt we had really won a victory. But, of course, some of the members of the art department felt very differently. They felt that a Negro had been promoted over eight whites, and they began a rumbling campaign.

### Race Discrimination Foiled by AFT Coordinating Group

A petition was circulated to go back to the old field of distribution. They were clever enough not to bring in the Negro angle, although one supervisor when angered said: "If this Negro was allowed to supervise junior high schools, in future years all of the art of Philadelphia would have Negroid tendencies."

We have an active artist group in the American Federation of Teachers and the petitions were circulated among them. Mr. Freelon, who had been a member of the Union for five years, came before the local executive board and told us his story.

His story was as follows: That he had been assigned to this job and at the time he had been praised very highly by the members of the Department of Superintendence and the board and that he felt that the department and the board would back him in that appointment.

We hoped it would, but were not certain. In about a month the board began to get skittish. Then we discovered that since the first petition was circulated they had had a committee studying this problem.

When the committee brought in their report, the report read something like this: Mr. Freelon had never been appointed to this job which was only temporary. They therefore scheduled an examination for a job he had held for over a year.

Speakers were sent to Negro organizations and progressive white organizations. We called many small meetings, many larger conferences. The press, both Negro and white—the white dailies not so much as the Negro—carried our side of the story. Negroes all over Philadelphia became aroused—290,000 in all. We were nearing an election, and our numbers gave us a strong voice.

Thousands of letters poured in to members of the board of education. One youth organization spent their whole day calling them on the telephone. I can assure you members of the board realized we meant business. We led them to know one of two things: either they would have an open hearing on this case and allow us and Mr. Freelon to present his side, or they had better hold a fair examination.

As a result of the pressure brought by the coordinating committee, which was led by the American Federation of Teachers, Mr. Freelon passed first. So now in Philadelphia we have an assistant—a Negro assistant—to the director of art education, in charge of junior high schools and vocational schools.

## Local 437 Holds Policies Meeting for Community

by ADDIE WEBER  
Trenton, N. J. (Local 437)

**T**HE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES committee of Local 437 has made only a beginning, but an important beginning, we feel. As in so many places, there are great difficulties which our Local has to face: the general weakness of the local union movement and the division in its leadership, resulting in ignorance and indifference to labor on the part of the general public; the increasing opposition on the part of the employer groups to all progressive moves; a reactionary newspaper, which is a virtual monopoly. While there are some encouraging signs, these difficulties make constructive work slow. What Local 437's Educational Policies Committee was able to do this spring is one of the encouraging signs.

Working as a subcommittee of the New Jersey State Federation of Teachers, the Local's committee drew up a call inviting "the people of our community through their civic, fraternal, religious and professional organizations, and through their unions and other groups, to participate in the discussion and formation of educational policies in a local conference" on the general subject of education for democracy.

When a sufficient number of representative individuals in the community had signed the call, they became a committee who sponsored the conference. Additional names were obtained, making the total number of signers twenty-eight.

The group represented one or more leading individuals in the AF of L and the CIO, the YWCA, the College Club, the clergy, professional groups. There were also the editor of the local newspaper, leaders of Negro, Jewish, Hungarian and Italian groups. Educators were represented by professors from the Lawrenceville School and Princeton University, the county and city superintendents, the presidents of the Teachers Association and the Teachers Union. While the two superintendents and the president of the Teachers Association signed the call for the conference, they balked and tried to sabotage the conference when they learned the conference plan.

The conference, as planned and executed, began with a luncheon in one of the hotels, followed by two speakers: Clara Leiser, author of *Lunacy Becomes Us*, and Dr. Clyde Miller of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis on the general subject of "What Is Democracy?" The assembly then broke up into three groups for panel discussions; one on "Democracy and Tolerance—How Shall the Schools Teach Tolerance?"; a second on "Democracy and the Curriculum—What Shall the Schools Teach?"; the third on "Democracy and the Administration—How Shall the Schools Be Administered?" Finally, the three groups met in a general assembly to hear reports of the chairmen of the three panels.

### Permanent Organization Results from Local Educational Conference

In spite of the sabotage, there were more than 160 in attendance on a very warm Saturday afternoon. Practically everyone remained throughout the entire session, which lasted until after five o'clock. The reaction was very fine, and it resulted in a resolution submitted to the assembly, and adopted, that the conference, to be known as the Trenton Conference on Education for Democracy, be made a permanent organization.

Probably the most influential person at the conference made this statement the day after the conference: "I consider this conference the most important thing that has ever happened in Trenton. Never before has a group of people representing as many interests in the community been brought together. This committee must continue."

This is the crux of the matter, I believe. There are those in our communities whom we usually regard as conservatives who can be interested in education for democracy and can be really helpful in making our schools democratic, and until the whole community becomes interested and concerned with the problems of the schools, our schools will not be truly democratic.

The educational policies committees, national and local, can do an exceedingly important work in educating the people and making the schools the means of maintaining democracy. It's a big job, but it must be done.



# Democratic Classroom Aids Child's Learning

by PAUL TRILLING  
Bergen County, N. J. (Local 522)

I AM A TEACHER of problems of American democracy and that puts me on the spot right away, I know, but I think I have a few suggestions as to how to inculcate democratic ideals that are very practical.

The question has been asked as to how to sell students on democracy. I am of the belief that the best way to sell students on democracy is to let them live democratically in the class. I should like to use my class as an illustration.

The first thing that we decided was that you could not have students live democratically in a classroom if you had a textbook to discuss problems of American democracy, so we substituted for the textbook a well-equipped library in the community itself. We felt that a textbook in and of itself was an undemocratic imposition upon students.

## Teacher Talks Less, Class Assumes Study Organization

The next problem was to organize the class democratically, and the first thing that both the students and I discovered was that we should have less talking by the teacher, that, too, the students should have a right to determine the units and areas studied in the classroom. We developed a program in my class which would permit the students to participate in the organization of the areas of study and to decide for themselves what those areas of study should be.

The way we did that was by organizing the class into various committees. These committees elected their own officers. They decided how they should go about studying the various units determined ahead of time.

These are some of the experiences that they had. They went out into the community and interviewed the mayor, the councilmen and labor leaders. They interviewed people of all sorts, even bankers and manufacturers. We were discussing the problem of unemployment, for instance, and they had learned in many of their other classes that there is a great deal of unemployment because there are so many people who just do not want jobs. We decided to find out how many jobs there were available in our area. They wrote to the various industrial managers in our area and found to their surprise that there were extremely few jobs available to them. In that way they were able to get firsthand knowledge, not from a textbook, of what the world was like outside.

## Fewer Restrictions Are Impetus to Gain Firsthand Knowledge

When they began working in their committees and presenting their units they did a great number of things. They made murals of the things they were thinking about. Some of them wrote poetry and shocked the students with whom they were working. Other fellows who had never received good grades in their lives suddenly found themselves developing. They became very spirited in this work because they felt that I was not imposing my will upon them all the time, but that they were planning their work within their own committees.

I want to mention general experiences. It was a difficult job to keep up with them, really. There should have been three or four teachers in the class working on their various things because they did not wait until they got into their English classes to write a letter to an editor in a town that lived near to us. They wrote those letters when they disagreed. They did not wait for the art teacher to come down to teach them to make murals. They called on the art teacher and he advised them. They did not wait until they got to the chemistry laboratory to study the value of some of the products that they were buying, but they read *Consumers Union*.

This one particular incident I think is especially remarkable in indicating how conscious they became of the idea of democracy. They went on strike one day because they felt that I had imposed my will upon them too strongly. This was when I was just learning. In getting the groups together I had been a little arbitrary. I had, for my own comfort, decided where each one should be allocated. It happened in this particular group that I forgot that one boy was particularly fond of one girl. Everybody else in the class knew it, but I did not. This had a very profound effect upon the group because the girl and the boy were in separate groups and they both wanted to be together. They created such dissatisfaction in both of their groups that they found the units that they studied were not at all interesting to them. So one of the groups got the idea that perhaps they could be most effective by going out on strike. They wrote out a petition that said, "We are no longer interested in this unit," and eight or ten of them in the group signed it and presented it to me.

There was quite a bit of nervousness within the class itself because they really thought I was going to spoil all of the ideals I had set up for them, that I was trying to tell them were democratic ideals. This was a test for me. When I received the petition I said, "This is not merely my business; it is the business of the class, so we had better all discuss it together." The class then told me what the situation was. I had to make the necessary revision and after the necessary revision was made and they were all satisfied, they got back to their jobs.

## Grading by Groups Makes 'A' Students Help the 'D's'

In this sort of endeavor, all kinds of things will happen, but it is important to maintain your democratic process, too, while you are evaluating the work of each of the students. The work in class might be very democratic, but I might very autocratically impose a mark upon the students. We may not think so, but marks to the students and parents are extremely important. So the class and I decided that this process would be a good way of evaluating the marks of the group: We decided that, after all, the valuable thing was how the unit was presented to the class. The class did not care how much work the individual unit presented. All they cared about was the general result. The class decided, after setting up certain objectives, it would mark the group and every member of the group would receive that mark.

Those who were A's individually were concerned about some of the D's right next to them, and this had the general effect of raising the level and marks of the whole group. That counted as one-half of its mark. We did find that when we used that process there were a certain few people who were getting away with things. The group found it out themselves. Now it became their problem, not mine.

They did not want people to be shirking and they figured that if they let this proceeding go on without a check there might be individuals who would shirk in their work and destroy the whole efforts of the group. They decided that the group itself would evaluate the mark of every individual in the group and that would take care of the shirkers and would count as the other half of the mark.

I did not go into the evaluation process at all. The marks were much more carefully made, I think, because of all of this activity in the class, with much better markings than any I could have achieved. I felt that even if some people did get A's who really deserved B's, the whole thing was satisfactory as long as everyone in the class understood the democratic process.

# COMMENTS FROM THE FLOOR

by GERTRUDE LUEHNING  
Palo Alto, Calif. (Local 442)

I AM A TEACHER of home economics, and principally a teacher of consumer education. I feel that that subject is closely allied with those factors in which we are so very much interested. It gives possibilities in speaking for democracy because in one of its phases it makes for student and adult awareness.

There are five phases to consumer education. Our home economics department happens to take over one primarily, and that is to teach better buyingship. We start out by sending our student into the community, to stress its stores, its facilities and the kind of trade that is available. We also go into the very few factories that we have in Palo Alto.

Our students say, "Where can I get some technical information? After all, I can't test socks. I can't find out very easily in a junior high school what is in poultry. I can't find out what is in soap." So right away we are carried into how to give those people technical information.

Our laboratories are very limited. I think the laboratories in most public schools are. So we have brought into our schools in Palo Alto a non-profit organization called the Consumers Union. It gives to its members—and it has a huge membership—monthly reports, technical reports on the consistency and the breaking strength and the makeup of articles.

by MAURICE C. CREW  
Chicago, Ill. (Local 1)

QUITE A NUMBER of schools in the United States are teaching consumer knowledge in various departments. In the Austin High School where I am, for four years I have been slowly advancing that idea. At the last meeting of the Central Association of Science and Mathematics Teachers of Chicago an extensive report was made on that subject. It is written up in the June issue of the magazine.

I refer to that because in the article there is a bibliography that should be of interest to chemistry and home economics teachers.

There is one place where science can be made effective and become a part of the pupil's life. The pupils are not going to grow up and be chemists; they are going to be consumers and buy goods.

by MEYER CASE  
New York, N. Y. (Local 5)

I WISH TO emphasize briefly two points, first in connection with the whole problem of teaching the student to appreciate the need for and the desirability of democracy.

There is connected with that the whole question of the attitude of the student himself toward schools and the things he learns. I face this problem in school, as I am sure almost everybody else does. We have had discussions in my classes about "Why is it that you students are not so much interested in what we are taking up?" It so happens that I teach mathematics.

I received this reaction from one student. "I had two brothers that went to vocational school. One of them learned something about the jewelry trade. When he got out the best he could do was to get a job as a WPA laborer. The other studies plumbing and he hasn't any job at all now. When I saw what happened to them I asked myself the question, 'What is the point of going to school and what is the use of studying?'"

As part of the whole problem of teaching the student an appreciation of democracy, if we are going to take the first step of getting him to like school and wanting to study the things that we teach, we have to take up in a serious manner what we can do to get these students jobs after they graduate. The question of the NYA is a partial solution along those lines, but the problem is much broader than that. I have thought a good deal about it and I don't know what the answer is.

My second point is, I have had a little experience in adult education, teaching workers in the trade-union movement, and I have wondered about this fact: that many workers now who are becoming good union members know very little about parliamentary procedure and almost nothing about the history of the trade-union movement in the United States.

I would like to ask, Why didn't these people, who went to high school, learn these things that we are teaching them now? It seems to me, if we have already come to the point in this country where we accept the fact that collective bargaining is a good thing, where we understand the fact that the trade unions are an essential part of our democracy, then we ought to carry this principle one step further. We ought to ask the boards of education to institute in the schools a course on trade unionism, on the history of the labor movement and on parliamentary procedure.

by SARA T. WALSH  
Philadelphia, Pa. (Local 192)

I TEACH in a junior high school in the industrial district of Kensington in Philadelphia. In the past two years we have had an experience which was amazing to me.

One of the difficulties in the junior high school is that everyone complains about the roster. You do not get the assignments you want and you think that the people on the roster committee do not teach enough, and it is a constant source of irritation.

We talked about it with some of our teachers and we thought that possibly it would be a good idea to get a set-up where these criticisms and suggestions of the teachers could be made openly. Then when we received our roster assignments if they could be reviewed by the teachers and the roster committee everyone performance must be satisfied. We had a teachers' council and we had the principal, who was agreeable, decide that we could see the roster arrangement in advance and make any applications we wanted for certain positions. Some of the teachers were concerned with this because those things which are extra-curricular activities are frequently stepping-stones to higher positions and those who were not in the intricate business of making a roster very frequently were eliminated from the things which have a great deal to do with one's rating.

We found out that when the teachers were given an opportunity to get their suggestions before the committee it was rather successful. We had four new people introduced into special activity work. We found that some of the people on the roster committee were rather tired of the job and we made the arrangement whereby it was rotated.

The most valuable thing that we have learned is this: We have a group of teachers now who have been given a certain amount of training in the administrative end of the school. As a result of that we have one of the nicest faculty groups in the school.

These questions did more toward revitalizing a faculty and getting teachers, who were not really interested in the job of teaching, more alert to the job than anything I have ever seen in one particular school.

by ARTHUR BROETJE  
Bremerton, Wash. (Local 336)

I AM a teacher of the social studies. As you know, Bremerton, Washington, is the scene of the Puget Sound Navy Yard and most of the people living in the city are employed there. I would say that about 75 per cent of the men who are working in the Navy Yard are also members of organized labor. We have no large industries aside from the Navy Yard. Hence, we have no large industrialists who are attempting to tell us what to teach. We can teach labor problems, the history of labor unions, the various questions which young people are going to face.

It is a fine arrangement and one of the difficulties which we have is sort of brought out in the question, "How can we implicate the people and excite their interest so that they will take an active part in formulating educational policies?" The difficulty we have is how to stay ahead of the people and their interest.

## COMMENTS WANTED

If you like this full presentation of the Educational Policies panel discussion, let us know. We might be able to print in full in future issues the other three panels presented at the convention.

They were "The Education of Adults in a Democracy," "The Economic Security of Teachers" and "Financial Support for the Schools."





# KUENZLI TRACES AFT GROWTH FOR 1938-39

## 76 Locals Chartered; 2,500 Members Added

THE PHENOMENAL GROWTH of the American Federation of Teachers during the latter part of the depression—growth in numbers, power and prestige—is one of the most significant steps in the history of the teaching profession in America. While many other social and educational organizations have struggled to maintain their respective memberships, the membership of the AF of T has been multiplied six times since the beginning of the depression in 1929. The present membership is nearly five times the membership of January, 1934, and is more than double the membership at the time of our annual convention in Philadelphia in 1936. Organized in 1916, the AF of T experienced a rapid growth to more than 10,000 members in 1920, only to meet such bitter opposition that the membership had decreased to 3500 in 1925. After 1925 the membership gradually increased to 5000 in 1929, but as late as January, 1934, the actual paid-up membership was only approximately 7500.

### Pennsylvania Leads with 12 Locals Added During Year

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939, 76 locals were chartered, representing 13 more locals than had been chartered during the preceding fiscal year. Included in this number are 6 locals established where locals previously existed. Of these the largest number was in Pennsylvania with 12 new locals; Ohio ranked second with 11 locals; New York ranked third with 10 locals; Illinois fourth with 8 locals; Indiana fifth with 6 locals; and Washington State sixth with 5 locals. Three locals were chartered in Texas and 3 in Wisconsin. Two locals were chartered in each of the states of Minnesota, California and Virginia. One local was chartered in each of the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Iowa, Tennessee, Michigan, Kansas, Georgia, West Virginia, Colorado, Connecticut. One local was chartered in Washington, D. C., and 1 in Puerto Rico. State Federations were chartered during the year in New Jersey, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Washington and West Virginia.

In spite of vigorous and well-organized opposition and in spite of losses in membership in some sections, the Union has made a gain of approximately 2500 members since the last convention.

It should be noted that all statistics quoted in the report are based on the number of members actually paid up at the national office. These are, therefore, minimum figures which, for various reasons, lag considerably behind the total membership of the Union. This lag is characteristic of all organizations in the labor movement. Since more than one-half of the present membership of the Union did not exist three years ago, it is important that we review briefly the various phases of progress during the last three years.

Today the financial condition of the AF of T is sound and its credit established. We are happy to welcome any rival organization which wishes to investigate us. At the time of the 1937 convention in Madison, Wis., all back salaries and other debts had been paid and for the first time in the history of the AF of T there was a substantial balance (approximately \$9000.00) in the treasury with all bills paid. At our last convention at Cedar Point there was a balance in the treasury of \$19,000.00. At the close of the fiscal year June 30, 1939, the balance in the treasury was approximately \$6000.00 with all bills paid.

### AFT Balances Own Books, Gives Helping Hand to Others

Not only has the AF of T met its own obligations during the last three years, but it has extended a helping hand by donating several thousands of dollars to other organizations which were having serious financial difficulties. The largest amount was a sum of \$800.00 donated to the Religion and Labor Foundation which was in serious financial condition.

In addition to paying its debts and assisting other organizations the AF of T has been able to build up a defense fund of several thousands of dollars. For many years the Union attempted unsuccessfully to create a defense fund by

means of voluntary contributions in addition to regular per capita. Since the 1937 convention it has been possible to set aside 1c per month per member for defense purposes. This sum is equal approximately to 6 per cent of the national per capita, and the balance on hand at the end of the fiscal year was \$4069.92. Since this fund was established two years ago approximately \$2300.00 has been expended in defending teachers who were unjustly dismissed. The AF of T is the only teachers' organization in America providing this kind of service for public-school teachers.

The restoration of the AF of T to a sound financial condition; the payment of several thousand dollars in back salaries; the establishment of a defense fund; the increase of the AMERICAN TEACHER magazine from a bi-monthly to a monthly publication; and the greatly enlarged services of the Union have been accomplished on per capita payments which average 17c per member per month—approximately 4c per week. Many union leaders have stated that it is absolutely impossible to operate an international union on dues of only 17c per month but the AF of T is doing it and the services rendered have been greatly enlarged. In 1938 one of the international unions made a study of per capita payments of unions affiliated with AF of L. The report of this study showed that the AF of T had the lowest dues of the 67 international unions reporting and the AF of T dues are less than one-fourth the average of the 67 unions reporting. Furthermore, these unions have an average initiation fee of \$5.68 per member; the AF of T has no initiation fee at all.

### New State Federations Bring Current Total to 12

As pointed out above, charters have been granted to 6 state federations during the past year making a total of 12. State federations are a comparatively new development in the AF of T. There has been some difference of opinion among leaders of the Union as to whether state federations would be an asset or a liability to the Union. Some leaders were of the opinion that the programs of state federations would come into conflict with the program of the national organization, and that dues in state federations would conflict with the budget of the International Union. It was argued that state federations would tend to divide our membership rather than to unite it in a strong, active International Union.

The first large successful state federation was established in the State of Ohio in 1934—more or less on an experimental basis. The Ohio Federation undoubtedly has had much to do with the outstanding success of our Ohio Locals and the maintenance of a membership of several thousand over a period of five years. The predictions of those leaders who oppose state federations have come true only in a small way. In a few instances there have been conflicts between the program of the national organization and the state federations. In one instance the state federation insisted that all of the funds allocated to the national vice president should be turned over to the state federation. In a number of instances Locals have found difficulty in meeting payments to both the state federations and the national organization. Some states have carried on active organization programs without requesting assistance from the national organization; others have demanded large grants from the national

funds for organization work in their respective areas. The State of Ohio, which for several years was the best organized state in the Union, was organized at practically no cost to the national organization. For several years the Ohio Federation of Teachers assessed 10c per month per member and carried on its own organization program with practically no assistance from the national funds. On the other hand, these locals are paying into the national organization approximately \$8000 a year. The result of the experiment with the Ohio Federation seems to indicate that the establishment of strong, active state federations should be a valuable asset to our International Union in co-ordinating the Union program in the various states, in assisting to prevent the rapid turnover of the smaller locals, in cooperating with the national organization in chartering new locals, and in making possible effective legislative programs in state legislatures.

The combined gain in New York City of more than 1600 members on the part of these three locals represents the largest numerical gain in the Union. In membership of new Locals, the Illinois Locals showed by far the largest gain with a total of approximately 300 members. The most significant growth of any Local in the nation is that of the West Suburban Local Number 571, near Chicago.

The Local, chartered in June, 1938, has already become one of the largest and most active unions in the nation. Recently, the paid-up membership has increased to nearly 400, and applications pending indicate a membership of over 500 next year. This Local in one year became one of the 10 largest Locals in the nation.

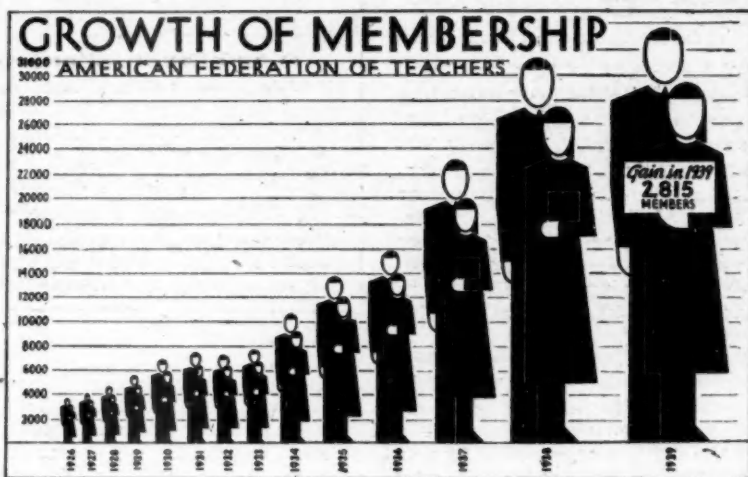
In the State of Ohio, the new Local at Antioch College is one of the most interesting developments of the past year in that the Local was formed to give, rather than to receive, union service. The institution was already using the democratic methods advocated by the AF of T, and the faculty organized for the purpose of assisting others in receiving democratic working conditions.

Equally important is the new Local chartered at Miami State University in Oxford, Ohio. This Local chartered in February has maintained an activity program of exceptional merit and has arranged AF of T meetings in the summer school.

### Ohio's Three College Units Offer Union Strategic Posts

A college section of our Cincinnati Local has also been established at the University of Cincinnati. Thus three college units have been established in Ohio during the past year, all of which fortunately are in strategic positions to assist in building the Union.

Illinois has now succeeded Ohio as the best organized state in the nation. More than 50 per cent of the teachers in cities of more than 5000 in population are members of the Union. The Chicago Local is now paying per capita on more than 8,000 members. In Springfield, Ill., the capital city, separate Locals were chartered last year for men teachers and women teachers. These two Locals have now combined to form Local 601 which already represents more than two-thirds of the teachers of the city. The Rockford Federation of Teachers chartered last year now has a paid-up membership of 162, representing nearly one-half of the teachers of the city. Local 224, Educational Secretaries of Chicago,



## Union Organizes Six State Federations

has trebled its membership during the past year—now enrolling 200 members. The Bloomington, Ill., Federation has maintained an active membership of more than 90 per cent for several years. This Local has an extraordinary record of achievement in solving practical school problems.

In Indiana, the Indianapolis Local chartered in July, 1938, has already grown to 133 paid-up members. The Local has rendered valuable assistance in the legislative program in Indiana. The Local at Anderson, Ind., now has 130 members representing more than two-thirds of the teachers of the city. This Local deserves especial commendation because its leaders have established two new Locals during the past year—one at Seymour, Ind., and one at Frankfort, Ind.

Reports from Pennsylvania indicate that the Locals in that state have been faced with one of the most serious battles in the history of the Union. In spite of overwhelming opposition, more new Locals were chartered than were lost, and there was a gain in membership of 110. The Philadelphia Local during the past year enrolled the largest membership in the history of the Local. The Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers has adopted an active program of restoring the Locals which were unable to withstand the onslaughts of the past year. Because of the critical situation in Pennsylvania, a full-time national organizer was employed in the territory for several months.

In Florida, the Local at Jacksonville, Number 516, chartered in June, 1937, has a membership of nearly 300.

In the South—east of the Mississippi River, we now have a number of large Locals which should serve as excellent centers of organization—New Orleans; Atlanta; Chattanooga; Washington, D. C.; Jacksonville, Florida; Birmingham, Alabama. The Birmingham Local, chartered in April, 1938, has made excellent progress. A promising Local was chartered in December, 1938, at Fisk University in Nashville.

### South's Membership Scattered, New England Charters Locals

The membership of the Union in the South—between the Mississippi River and California is very sparse and widely scattered. In this whole area including Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, Kansas and Missouri, the total membership is less than 400. At Boulder, Colo., a very active college Local has been established. Chartered in February, 1938, this Local has become the fifth largest college Local in the nation. In addition the Local has been successful in organizing a public-school Local in Denver. The Pueblo County Local has become active and plans have been made to establish a Colorado State Federation of Teachers. The importance of this development in Colorado in the center of a large unorganized area is obvious.

In the New England area a new public-school Local has been chartered at Providence, R. I.; and a private-school local at West Fairfield, Conn. A charter has been granted to the state colleges of Massachusetts. The Yale Local has increased from 15 to 42 members during the past year.

At Kenosha, Wis., Local 557, chartered in March, 1938, is building a splendid Local. For reasons peculiar to the Local, the officers are selecting the membership very carefully.

A promising Local has been established at Michigan State College at Lansing in the very heart of southern Michigan.

In Iowa, the State Federation of Labor has cooperated in laying the groundwork for organization in that state. An enthusiastic Local has been established at Des Moines, and the teachers of several other cities are definitely interested in the AF of T.

One of our most successful Locals is that of Butte, Mont., which now reports an enrollment of 92 per cent of the teachers in the city.

In three short years, therefore, we have doubled our membership; paid off our own debts of several thousands of dollars; assisted a large number of other organizations through the hardships of the depression; built a defense fund of several thousands of dollars; and greatly enlarged the services of the Union.



# Teachers Must Be Free to Educate Youth—Boas

**T**HE REVOLUTIONS in foreign lands with their ever widening assault upon the cultural values which we have gained through centuries of slow and arduous labor and their repercussions in our own country have made all of us conscious of the necessity of a vigorous defense of our ideals. We are not willing to give up individual freedom for serfdom, to let the State become a monster that swallows up our manhood and compels us to give up our intellectual and moral integrity to the authoritarian will that knows no law and that can thrive only by keeping the masses in a constant state of turmoil by attacking one after another the ideals that stand in its way.

## Society Restricts Actions, but Minds Must Remain Free

We must not confuse intellectual and spiritual freedom with the necessary restrictions of our activities that are brought about by the complexity of our social life. Under simpler conditions the individual had the right to actions that would nowadays endanger the well-being of his fellow citizen. The economic activities of one person may endanger the very sources of existence of many of his fellow citizens. We all recognize that there are problems of social adjustment undreamed of fifty years ago which must be solved if our society is to survive. It is not likely that these will be solved without much experimenting and much suffering.

Untouched by these problems is that of intellectual and spiritual freedom. Even if our actions must be restricted by the demands of society, our minds must remain free, if for no other reason but that free minds are needed for the solution of our problems.

Freedom of the mind presupposes equal rights for all, that is, a democratic organization. It must be understood that democracy alone will not guarantee intellectual freedom, for a bigotted democracy can be as oppressive as an authoritarian state. Not so an enlightened democracy.

It is not sufficient to free the intellect. We know that unless the emotional life is disciplined by the intellect and the intellect stimulated by emotional stress our efforts may be barren.

The Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom has grown out of the Manifesto of Scientists and the Manifesto of Educators defending democracy and intellectual freedom and has declared our devotion to these principles on the occasion of Lincoln's Birthday of this year. We reaffirm these principles and pledge ourselves to combat all attempts to deny man's rights to express his opinions freely and to share in the choice of his government; to resist the dissemination of false racial theories which deny the equality of man's birthright and set man against man according to the color of his skin or the name of his grandfather; to insist that foreign-born aliens receive equal protection of the laws that the Constitution guarantees them, for the infringement of their rights is a stepping-stone to the destruction of the rightful immunities of all persons.

## Let Public Know Issues, Then Work Constructively

It is not enough that the issues on which we have taken a stand be brought to public attention and that a body be assembled to defend our liberties. It seemed to the Committee on Democracy and Intellectual Freedom that constructive activities are equally necessary. Thus a careful inquiry has been undertaken to see in how far textbooks teach unproved theories as facts. The most obvious case is the abuse of the term race and the repetition of the fallacy of pronounced and biologically determined mental characteristics of so-called races. This matter seemed most urgent on account of the political importance given to the question by the present governments of Germany, Italy and Spain, and by the increase of race prejudice in our own nation where the survival of social customs among recent immigrants and the presence of a large Negro population living under the pressure of unfavorable social conditions bring social differences forcibly into popular consciousness. It seemed to us a worthwhile beginning to help to an understanding of the meaning of existing differences. We have also taken occasion to expose a vicious report brought out by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New

York, giving a mass of misinformation on the behavior of descendants of various nationalities in the United States. It seems curious that Mr. Winthrop W. Aldrich, whose organization issued this report, should appear at the same time as vice chairman of the Congress on Education for Democracy which has just closed its sessions, the more so as the day before the opening of the Congress a committee of the Chamber published a report on education which is so entirely opposed to what a democratic education means that it contradicts the very name of this Congress. To quote from the report: "As we see it the great purpose for which the schools were founded was to preserve and strengthen the State by making better and abler citizens. Other benefits derived from it are secondary. There are many of them and they are important, but the preservation and strengthening of the State is the big objective." This is fascist and Nazi ideology. It asserts that the individuals composing the nation are there for the sake of the State to whose interest the individual must be sacrificed. In a democratic nation the State is a means to further the well-being and happiness of the individuals. If I were to summarize the recommendations of the Chamber of Commerce in a crude, exaggerated form I might say they demand as aims of education the teaching of humility so that the poor may accept with gratitude what is given to them—health that they may be able to work effectively for their employer, ignorance that they may not ask questions. It is the fascist attitude of the soulless corporation to its employees transferred to the corporate State. I presume this crude statement would be rejected by the signers of the document, but it is implicit in their recommendations.

## Denounce Fascist Attitude in C of C Recommendations

Religion is placed first in their demands. I should be the last to deprecate the importance of attempting to give to the young an understanding of the greatness of all religious leaders, of all those who suffered for spiritual and intellectual freedom and for humane ideals, but I doubt whether it can be done by systematic instruction. It is rather an idea that must pervade the school. There is too great a danger, foreseen by the founders of our educational system, that the teaching of dogma cannot be avoided and will create dissension and strengthen prejudices.

Nobody will gainsay the demand that the health of the child should be properly guarded by the schools, but if this is to be done effectively, the provision for additional medical supervision, for nursing and social service, will frustrate the desire for retrenchment of expenditures which the committee recommends.

The strongest objection should be raised against the proposed abridgement of the school course. It is true enough that many children are pressed into an academic curriculum for which they are not fitted, but the remedy is not shortening the course but establishment of work to which they are fitted. Still worse is the recommendation that high-school education should be reserved to those who can pay for it, a negation of the whole principle of democratic educational opportunities. However, here is not the place for a detailed discussion of this report.

I cannot refrain from some remarks on the Congress on Education for Democracy which was called by Dean William F. Russell of Teachers College in New York. The coincidence of our meeting and the closing of the Congress makes these remarks unavoidable.

We all applaud the desire expressed in this Congress to bring teachers and the lay public into closer contact. If the teacher is to fulfill this function satisfactorily he ought to be familiar with all the cross currents of our social life in order to prepare adequately the youth with whose education he is charged so that he may be able to meet the manifold conflicts to which he will be exposed. The life and the exacting duties of the teacher bring it about that he becomes somewhat isolated from many parts of the community. Ordinarily he is not in close contact with the world of business, with manufacture, with agriculture. At least those sides of our com-

## AMERICAN REDISCOVERY WEEK

The following resolution on American Rediscovery Week of the Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom headed by Dr. Franz Boas was passed at the convention of the AF of T in Buffalo:

**RESOLVED:** That the Twenty-third National Convention of the American Federation of Teachers endorse the appended proclamation of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom calling for the celebration of American Rediscovery Week, October 8 to 14, 1939; and be it further

**RESOLVED:** That the National Executive Committee and all Locals of the American Federation of Teachers be urged to take steps to arrange some appropriate activity for that week.

Copies of the complete proclamation have been sent to all Locals by the national office. More information and material about the work may be had by writing to the Committee at 519 West 121st Street, New York City.

plex life with which he becomes familiar by his own experience depend upon the character of the community in which he lives, and upon the home environment of his pupils. Therefore a systematic effort to bring about a closer relation between all sides of our public life and the teaching profession seems eminently proper. It is also appropriate that stress should be laid upon the contribution that such cooperation may bring to the development of our democratic institutions, to the training for intellectual freedom and for strength of character that enables man to stand up for his convictions and not give way to the temptation to subordinate himself unduly to convention.

It is obvious that such an aim cannot be attained in one short session, for the problems are manifold and intricate and require long continued cooperation and careful study. For these reasons we welcome the Congress just held as a beginning of an arduous task and it should be the business of all the various organizations of teachers to see to it that this beginning should be followed up and developed. This thought has been vigorously expressed in the summary reports of the meetings of the Congress.

It is perhaps unavoidable that the first meeting should not quite adequately fulfill the requirements to be set for such continued discussions. Conceived and organized by an energetic mind, the Congress on Education for Democracy itself lacked too much the democratic character that would seem to be the essential foundation for such an undertaking. We should have liked to have seen a free participation of our professional organization, instead of the personal selection by the president of the Congress of the participants. We should have liked to have seen in the list of lay organizations more stress laid upon a variety of groups represented. Probably on account of the centralization of organization on one hand, and, therefore, lack of democratic procedure, the selection was such that the inclinations of the organizer appear too clearly in the organization. A Congress of this kind must avoid the danger of becoming liable to endorse a preconceived policy rather than lead to a thorough discussion of a serious problem. It is a healthy sign that notwithstanding the arbitrary selection of organization represented and of educators requested to participate, many conflicting points of view were represented and found expression in the summary reports.

## Restrictions May Turn Organizer into Dictator

The restrictions which made attendance at the seminars difficult, the fear of heated discussion expressed by the precautions taken to keep order with the help of the police, detracted from the value that an otherwise laudable enterprise would have had. To be effective, a Congress on Education for Democracy must be organized in a thoroughly democratic manner. Otherwise there is danger that it may turn into its very opposite. It might unwittingly become a means of putting the organizer into the undesirable position of seeming to harbor the desire of becoming an educational dictator. I hope that my criticisms will be taken in the way they are meant, as constructive suggestions for the conduct of future meetings. I think it is only just to express our thanks to Dean Russell for launching an idea that will undoubtedly lead to fruitful results.

One of the most curious features of the Congress was, at least as far as the reports indicate, the complete lack of a discussion of democracy in the school. We all know that on the whole our schools are administered on purely authoritarian principles. The board of trustees or board of education controls the principal. The principal controls the heads of departments. The heads of departments control the teachers. This is all too frequently the type of adminis-

tration of large schools, colleges and even universities, a system which precludes a healthy development of intellectual and spiritual freedom. It has come about that in many an institution the subjection of the teacher has gone so far that if the faculty were given the opportunity to decide on issues of policy they would not know what to do.

I do not wish to be misunderstood. In the development of our educational systems we owe much to the foresight of earlier generations and to the liberality of benefactors. We are only too glad to acknowledge our obligation to them. The necessity of taking care of the funds that were given to schools by communities or by individuals has brought it about that those in charge of the funds have taken over the function also of directing the policies of the school; or they subordinate their judgment to that of the president, superintendent or principal in whom they have confidence and who, unless a person of strong democratic convictions, becomes the authoritarian head of the school. To add to this power, as Dean Russell is doing by adding to the Board of Trustees a Lay Council selected by himself, can only lead to an increase of the authoritarian character of the school and undermine whatever traces of a democratic government remain.

## Intellectual Freedom Is Key to Democracy's Success

It seems that it is our business to express ourselves clearly and emphatically and say that these methods are not conducive to the advancement of intellectual freedom without which a democracy and a representative government are inconceivable. If democracy is to succeed our whole body politic must become saturated with the idea of intellectual freedom, and the organization of our government, business and school must be such that action results from the cooperation of free men who respect one another's opinions and needs.

If such is our view, we may ask what should be our policy. I believe it is clear to all of us that the groups that favor authoritarian control in the school system are united, while those who would liberalize conditions are altogether too often hopelessly divided by issues that have nothing to do with their main objective. It has always seemed to me that, if I agree with a person in regard to one specific problem in which we wish to cooperate, his political, religious or social views in regard to other matters are irrelevant. The Teachers Union, of which I am glad to be a member, has a well-defined task—to develop the efficiency of our schools and to protect the teaching profession against unwarranted interference in their work. There is no reason why political or religious differences should interfere with our united work in this field in which we agree in regard to the main issue. Differences of opinion in regard to other questions not germane to the field to which the American Federation of Teachers is devoted should be fought out in those fields to which they belong. By concentrating our attention upon the main issues of our program and stoutly declining to have other issues brought in we shall grow in unity and in power. Let us not underestimate the meaning of attacks like those of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York. Let us forget outside issues and work for the purposes for which the Teachers Union was founded. I trust that our discussions may be guided by due consideration of the necessity of unity in our efforts on behalf of the schools.

I cannot conclude these remarks without referring to the attacks that have been made by over-anxious souls against the Teachers Union due to a complete misunderstanding of the principles of intellectual freedom to which we have pledged our unwavering allegiance. Both without and within the Teachers Union our devotion to this principle is too often

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# Davis Stresses Building Union to Resist Attacks on Public Schools

## Cites Work of AFT Locals During '38-'39

TODAY we in the United States are confronted with the same struggle that our forefathers met in the early days of the Nineteenth Century. The depression has resulted in launching attacks on American education which, if successful, would undermine the very foundations upon which free public schools have been built. There are those today who question whether free public schools are worth the cost. Others would abolish free tuition, and introduce the fee system. This proposal, of course, emanates from those so comfortably situated economically that their children would not suffer. Others charge that we are padding the curriculum with all sorts of useless courses. "Away with the fads and frills of education," they say. Oftentimes the attack is masked under the charge that children should be introduced to the fundamentals and the gateways of knowledge. The mayor of one large city in favoring economy in education even neglected to include reading in the list of fundamentals of our educational process. In the State of Connecticut a reactionary Republican governor tried to close two of the state teachers' colleges, but so violent was the reaction of the trade unions, and the common people, that he was unable to effect this so-called "economy." In Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York, to mention just a few, attempts were made to pass restrictive school legislation.

The results in Pennsylvania meant that 6,000 teachers received no salary for months. In Georgia, schools in forty-one counties closed. New York State, supposedly the leader in public-school education, cut state aid \$10,000,000 in 1938. This meant a loss of about 1,000 teachers in New York City alone.

## AFT Must Mobilize Against Campaign Restricting Schools

Against this campaign the American Federation of Teachers must mobilize all its forces. This means that the Federation should stand united against all attacks from without. This is no time to quarrel or differ among ourselves about extraneous and inconsequential matters. The efforts to array one group against another or the whispering campaign charging individuals with communism is a grossly mistaken one. We should all take to heart the resolution adopted by the New York State Federation of Labor just four days ago which reads:

Whereas, There is being spread in this State the poison of Anti-Semitism in an attempt to divide the ranks of labor, and  
Whereas, Such tactics, using the pretext of "Bolshevism" and the poisonous propaganda directed against people for their religious beliefs, and  
Whereas, Such fascistic movements, beginning at first with attacks against labor organizations as "Communist" and spawning religious prejudice in order to divide the population, have wound up in Italy and Germany by crushing the entire labor and trade-union movement, and  
Whereas, An alert trade-union movement, benefitting from the experience of European workmen, must be on guard against such union-wrecking attacks from the first moment they come into view, therefore be it  
Resolved, That the New York State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, condemns such agitation whether done by any individual, a newspaper, an association or any other agency, as un-Christian, anti-democratic, anti-labor and detrimental to the interests of the bona fide unions, whose function it is to afford protection to working men and women, regardless of race, color or creed.

There is no one who believes in Americanism or democracy more wholeheartedly than does your president. I would do anything within my power to protect the principles of democracy and the basic rights which Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln have handed on to us; namely, liberty, equality and fraternity. But our major enemies are, first, the forces of fascism which would destroy democracy entirely, and, second, those forces in each community and state which would curtail or throttle education. I am certain that there is not a delegate to this convention who does not favor standing shoulder to shoulder in opposition to retrenchment in public education, who does not believe that we must go forward towards new and better schools, with better provisions for meeting the needs of the childhood of the nation. In this program, we can all unite solidly together, no matter what our differences of race or creed or political belief.

If American democracy is to endure, we must provide equality of educational



**JEROME DAVIS, AFT of T president, 1936-1939; started oldest college local at Yale University. Gilder Fellow at Columbia, 1920-21; taught at Dartmouth and for 13 years at Yale.**

opportunity for all. Today over a million children of school age have no school. The fact that business is poor is no reason for penalizing children. Every child in every state is a future voting citizen with equal political rights. At present some groups such as Negroes and poor whites are discriminated against. In many states we now have blighted areas where schools are closed and libraries non-existent.

In the rural areas of most of our states mental starvation can be found. Here schools are open only a few months a year. In these areas children tend to fall victims to child labor. Only Federal aid to education can bring equality of educational opportunity to all.

It is sometimes charged that America will be bankrupt if expenditures are not drastically reduced. But education is the last field which should be cut. We are actually spending one hundred million dollars on a single battleship; yet schools are infinitely more important to the nation than battleships. In a single year we spend more money on chewing-gum than on education.

If we believe in perpetuating democracy then we believe in a society that consciously seeks the widest possible degree of responsible participation and intelligent self-direction. Unfortunately many, even in America, do not believe that all should participate in our democratic process. They would shut out the Negro and the propertyless. They believe in the rule of the upper class. To this group, democracy means merely certain forms of government, certain expressions in the Constitution, which are all right as long as they do not interfere with their profits and privileges. Faith in the intelligence of the common people they call nonsensical and dangerous. Any democratic process which means responsible control by all the people they oppose and brand its advocates as "reds and bolsheviks."

Naturally the man who believes that democracy gives the unrestricted right for the powerful to exploit his neighbors does not believe that education should probe into the methods and practices by which the powerful rule the masses.

## Ban Controversial Subjects in Current Events Class

Let me cite a concrete example from my own home town. In the school attended by my daughter they have a current events class. When my daughter was called she told of the efforts of the mayor of New York City to install public electricity and reduce the rates to the people. This threat had forced the private corporations to lower their rates. The teacher immediately called her up and said that the discussion of such questions might get the class and the teacher in trouble. The children were told not to bring up such controversial questions again.

The unrepresentative character of the board of education in New Haven is shown by the privileged status of its members: It includes the manager of the Winchester Manufacturing Company, the manager of the G. & O. plant, the president of Cowles & Company, and three others, all of whom hold high positions in the business world. The only remaining member is a doctor.

Education should constantly reinter-

## Urges Federal Aid for Needy Schools

pret democracy in terms of changing conditions. This means that we must make youth feel its responsibility for self-direction, self-control and purposeful participation in social change.

The school has a responsibility to help students and society to examine critically and to weigh its practices. In fact, unless the school does this, society stagnates or decays until severe crisis or explosion occurs. Society should therefore protect the school in its critical and analytical functions.

Now, if the school should help students to take an active part in securing social progress, then I believe this proves the absolute necessity of affiliation with organized labor, for it is organized labor which has usually championed change for the better. We must remember there has always been change in every society and there always will be. The crucial question is the rate of change and the kind. In the dictator countries the rate of change has been rapid and revolutionary, but inimical to freedom. Can the democratic countries keep up a high enough rate of progress to preserve economic well-being, social justice and liberty? On the answer to this question hinges the fate of the world. Much will depend on what education does.

We are living in a kaleidoscopic world. We have new standards, new styles, new techniques. We cannot afford to use old, discredited methods in any field. But we are still in danger of teaching for an individualistic economy in a socialized age. Too often we teach children to believe that the person succeeds who outdistances others. In reality, we should inculcate the thought that the individual succeeds who pulls up the group most effectively. The child who gets individual high grades for himself alone may be developing a selfish individualistic attitude which will mean that he exploits his ability and his fellow men when he graduates. Now it is precisely at this point of education for social change that I believe the work of the American Federation of Teachers is so effective. Let me illustrate by telling what some of our Locals are doing.

## Laud Chicago Federation in 1915, Again in 1939

Chicago has done notable work. Here is a quotation from *Harper's Weekly*: "The work of the Chicago Teachers Federation has put millions into the city treasury . . . and out of it all has come a better, finer Chicago, and a school system so much better than the old that comparison fails." The date when this was published was 24 years ago in 1915.

And the Chicago Union is doing notable things today. To begin with it has enrolled a majority of all the teachers in Chicago. In the political field it helped to elect Paul Douglas to the City Council. This year for the first time Mayor Kelly and President McCahey decided to stop opposing the Union and recognized it as the bargaining agency for Chicago teachers.

The Union secured the restoration of Mr. Cook and Mr. Wolf to the Teachers College. They also secured the right to use school buildings for Union meetings and to distribute Union literature. The Teachers Credit Union has grown in membership from 500 to 1,300. Full medical care has been made available to all teachers for \$18 a year. A Study Class meets semi-monthly, featuring distinguished speakers. Besides the *Union Teacher* a *News Bulletin* is published every week.

To New York State we must hand the banner for the largest membership increase during the past year with a total net gain of 1,734. They also organized six new public-school Locals, two new college Locals and one new WPA teachers Local. Besides a state-wide bulletin, the *Union Teacher*, they have issued frequently during the legislative session a news letter and have actually distributed over 2,000,000 leaflets against curtailment of the educational budget.

The State Federation of Teachers has established a state office with a full-time secretary. They have also employed Dr. Bella V. Dodd as full-time organizer and legislative representative. In addition to a state per capita of 2c they levied a special assessment of \$1 per member (50c for WPA) and collected it. The

tentative budget for next year is \$8,000. They have had to meet a strongly entrenched drive by a Republican legislature to cut state aid by 25 per cent. The actual cut made was 10 per cent. They also defeated a measure to reduce the salaries of New York City teachers. They are waging a strong fight to secure a supplementary appropriation for education at the next session of the legislature in 1940.

The New York College Teachers Union, the largest union of its kind in the world, has the highest membership in its history, over 1,100. It has gone far towards democratizing higher educational procedure in New York City and has been complimented for its activity in this regard by Ordway Tead, chairman of the Board of Higher Education in New York City.

Here is an extract from the report of the Pittsburgh Local: "With the shift of Pennsylvania to control by reactionary Republican machine politicians, our work this year has been almost exclusively concerned with holding the gains made under the liberal Democratic regime. The first attack was made upon tenure. Our first move was to make a careful, analytical, objective study of the tenure question, backed by careful research. We got out a study, had it mimeographed, sent it to every senator in the legislature, and to over 500 important individuals and organizations throughout the western part of Pennsylvania.

## Locals Defend Gains Against Reactionary Regimes

Atlanta, Ga., has continued her notable record. We are all proud of what Vice-President Allie Mann and the other officers have accomplished. With over 95 per cent of the teachers of the city in the Union, her record is second to none anywhere. Other locals in Georgia have also been active. For instance, the Augusta Local writes: "Because of the failure of the General Assembly of Georgia to provide adequate funds for the operation of our seven months' school law, our board was faced with a deficit of \$93,000. The Finance Committee of our board, faced with this situation, met and decided that it would be necessary to reduce teacher's salaries 10 per cent. A meeting of the Executive Committee of our local was called immediately. We invited the president of our board of education and the chairman of the Finance Committee to this meeting. We had a complete discussion of the financial condition of the local board. Within three days time, the Finance Committee met again, and decided that the board would negotiate a loan so as to maintain our salary schedule."

The Erie Federation of Teachers writes: "During the past three months we have been fighting locally the Erie County Branch of the Pennsylvania Economy League. We have defeated their retrenchment program here in Erie and have succeeded in having a budget adopted by the board of education which included no salary cuts. The guiding force behind this league in Erie is the General Electric Company; not officers of the company but the company itself. In Pittsburgh, the guiding force has been Westinghouse Electric."

## New Jersey Group Defeats Permissive Pay-cut Action

The Essex County Federation of Teachers in New Jersey writes: "I consider our outstanding achievement during the past year to have been the defeat of permissive pay-cut legislation. The president of the State Teachers Association had knowledge of political plans to push through this bill ten days prior to its introduction (for immediate action), but neither said nor did anything about it, hence acquiesced. We learned of it the last minute; organized a telegram campaign from 9 till 11 the very night the bill was to be reported out; we contacted all sorts of associations all over the state, and the bill was buried under the avalanche of protest."

The Cambridge University Union in four years has increased its membership from some 30 to 225. At Harvard the Union has come to be accepted by the administration and a majority of the faculty. This year a departmental chairman and the president himself has conferred with the grievance committee of the Union and mentioned the Union tenure and appointment report in the deliberations of the faculty. President Conant also officially met with and delivered an address to the Union.

In labor matters the Union has been active. It played a vital part in the victorious strike of the Georgian restaurant workers; lent its aid to the Harvard dining-hall employees in win-

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# AFL AIDS AFT ORGANIZING DRIVE—GOOGE

## Educational Aid Is Election Issue

I AM HAPPY to have the opportunity of attending this convention. I appreciate the fine hospitality of your local committee; but above all, I appreciate the opportunity of associating during the past year rather closely with the officers of your international Union, because it has given me a great insight into the problems and the difficulties with which the officers of your great national organization are constantly confronted.

I want to speak to you of some of the accomplishments of this particular affiliated national union. Your president mentioned the fact that I represented the American Federation of Labor upon the President's Advisory Committee on Education. Due to no fault of the American Federation of Labor there was not a direct official of AF of T on the President's Advisory Committee; however, because of the American Federation of Labor's interest in this organization, the chairman of the President's Advisory Committee, one of the most outstanding educators in America, Dr. Floyd Reeves, is now an active member of the American Federation of Teachers.

## Adopt AFT Resolutions at Houston Convention

Due to some concern by the officers of your international Union, particularly with some of the recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee and the first draft of the federal aid bill this committee recommended to Congress, at the last convention at Cedar Point detailed consideration was given to the question of federal aid. Your delegates were instructed to present the matter to the American Federation of Labor's annual convention at Houston last October. As a result of the contribution made by the delegates from this national Union to the American Federation of Labor convention, the secretary of the organization being on the Educational Committee, resolutions presented and policies presented to the American Federation of Labor convention by this organization were adopted by the American Federation of Labor's convention unanimously.

Upon the recommendations of your organization, a Permanent Committee on Education was re-established by the American Federation of Labor. Your international secretary, being the full-time executive in administrative matters of this organization, was appointed by President Green to the Permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor.

Following this fact a meeting was held of the committee in the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor in Washington and a proposed bill on federal aid was redrafted by your representative on that committee and the other members of the American Federation of Labor's Permanent Committee on Education. Then, of course, we consulted with the chairman of the President's Advisory Committee, Dr. Reeves. We called in representatives of the National Education Association and all other educational groups, and we succeeded not only in having approval of the President's Advisory Committee to the proposed changes and redrafting of the bill for federal aid, but we succeeded in acting as the coordinating agency in getting the other leading educational associations to agree to the redrafted bill.

## Demand Legislators Aid Public Education

We often wonder what we can do in this country to organize completely the school teachers, particularly the classroom teachers of this nation. You have some job even from the standpoint of the teachers being able to pay the small amount of dues necessary to finance a local Union and to finance this national Union. You must realize that thousands of teachers receive in compensation for their services only \$25.00 per month and that is not a twelve-month period, but only for six-, seven- and eight-month school terms.

I know that I express the determination of the president of the American Federation of Labor when I state to you and to the officers of this organization that the American Federation of Labor is determined to make one of the primary labor issues in every political campaign throughout the country federal aid to our public schools. We shall insist in the coming campaign that every candidate for Congress and every candidate for the United States Senate declare himself and

## Highlights

The American Federation of Labor is determined to make one of the primary labor issues in every political campaign throughout the country federal aid to education.

We are trying to make as effective as possible a strong trade-union movement in this country, divorcing it from religious and political intolerance and certainly divorcing it from all racial intolerance or discrimination.

We realize that the enemies of progress, the enemies of freedom, the enemies of social security, the enemies of democracy are on the rampage in America, and as much as we do not like to admit it, the pendulum has been swinging back to the conservative side. There is only one way to preserve the gains we have made under the great humanitarian leader of this nation, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and that is for all the progressive forces of this country to get together, particularly the labor movement, in a united program.

pledge himself to support labor and the American Federation of Teachers' union policy and program and legislation and appropriations for federal aid in this country.

May I add this fact, that when the pending bill drafted in the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor and sponsored by the President's Advisory Committee was up for a hearing before the Senate Committee on Labor and Education, the presentation on the part of the proponents of this act was conducted by the President's Advisory Committee.

Chairman Reeves had control of the presentation of those who were in support of the measure. The American Federation of Labor appointed three men to speak for it in support of this measure—the chairman of the Committee on Education, the secretary of the committee (who is your secretary-treasurer) and myself.

I wish to state to this convention and for the record that the American Federation of Teachers paid in per capita tax into the special organizing fund of the American Federation of Labor during the past twelve months \$3,000. Of that fund there was donated to the American Federation of Teachers headquarters \$700, and a total paid in salary and organizing expenses for representatives of your council, two of them vice presidents of your Union, of over \$3,300.

## AFT Guides Educational Policies of the AFL

I think one of the most striking contributions this Union has made during the past year specifically has been the tremendous influence it has had in shaping all of the educational policies of the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor is a great national federation of sovereign, independent, international and national unions, and has looked to the American Federation of Teachers for leadership, for guidance, in all policies of education.

I want you to carry back home some of the things the American Federation of Labor has been doing in recent years that I dare say some of your membership are not acquainted with. We have a most difficult situation in the southern states, but I wonder how many delegates to this convention know that in the southern states alone we have over 200,000 colored members of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, working under closed-shop contracts.

I am sure it would be of interest to those who are not familiar with the development in the trade-union movement in the southern states in the past year or two, to know that in the state conventions we have a much larger percentage of colored, active delegates than we have in this convention. I must emphasize that fact for this point, and this point alone, that the American Federation of Labor is actively trying to put into practice the things that it has been preaching. We are trying to make as effective as possible a strong trade-union movement in this country, divorcing it from religious and political intolerance and certainly divorcing it from all racial intolerance or discrimination.

I am sure that the delegates from Georgia who are here could make a most comprehensive report of progress in that state. They have succeeded, with the help of the American Federation of Labor in recent months, in organizing everybody in the State Department of Education of Georgia, including the porter and on up to every person not in an executive position. The Atlanta teach-

ers, in conjunction with the other locals, have met the campaign to carry on a state-wide organizing drive, and whether it may be trade-union tactics or not, it is most practical to have all of the State Department of Education's field supervisors out, actively assisting the Teachers' Union to organize the school teachers in Georgia. And we think that the state federation of teachers in Georgia which will be organized in the very near future, will come to the next convention with at least a third of all public-school teachers in the organization.

## America's Future Depends Upon Educational System

In a conference with Vice President Allie Mann and the president of the Teachers' Union, Miss Ira Jarrell, the superintendent of schools and the assistant superintendent of schools and the heads of the various departments a few weeks ago, we were assured that with the teachers doing their part and assisted by the American Federation of Teachers if we didn't have all the teachers organized in Georgia, it would not be the fault of the state department or the fault of the people at the state capital.

I would be unfaithful in paying a tribute where tribute belongs if I did not take this opportunity to say that Miss Mann and the Atlanta teachers under the direction of Miss Mann have been of material benefit to the American Federation of Labor and to the teachers, particularly in instructing the American Federation of Labor how to assist the teachers in their activities in the southern states.

That brings me to one of the unfortunate situations confronting the teachers, particularly in the South.

In June of last year a group of courageous teachers obtained a charter from the Union and succeeded in organizing over 400 public-school teachers in the Jacksonville Union in a year's time. They succeeded, with the assistance of the labor movement, in getting a bill passed through the Florida legislature last spring, giving local tenure to the Jacksonville and Duval County school teachers. But due to the reactionary influence of the predatory interests in Jacksonville, Fla., which control the board of education, the board of education and the reactionaries throughout the entire State of Florida brought such pressure on Governor Cohen that he was conscience-stricken and vetoed the tenure law for Jacksonville.

What was the immediate reaction? A month ago when the board of education met, they fired the officers of the Union and forty of the leading members of the Union. Some of those teachers had held their positions for as long as thirty-three years. And the board of education took this action to destroy the Teachers' Union not only in Jacksonville, but throughout the state, because they knew if there was a strong Union of teachers in Jacksonville, the organization of teachers would sweep through the entire state.

Miss Mann has been in Jacksonville for a couple of weeks, leading the fight for the school teachers to have these teachers reinstated. As soon as this convention adjourns I am going to Jacksonville, and the entire force of the labor movement, not only in Jacksonville, but throughout the entire state of Florida, will be marshalled as they have never been marshalled in any fight for teachers in the history of this great national organization. Every single person running for the legislature in Florida or for the

## Stresses Labor Unity to Defeat Reaction

state senate, or for the board of education in Jacksonville, will be contacted, and the main issue will be the right of civil liberties for the public-school teachers and the reinstatement with full back compensation of the Jacksonville school teachers. We will either have the board of education reinstate these teachers in the next few days, or we will be successful in having a recall vote and removing the board of education in Jacksonville.

The American Federation of Labor appointed a committee that met in December, 1937, with a similarly appointed and authorized committee from the CIO. They met for many days and an agreement was reached that would bring about unity in the labor movement. After this agreement was reached it was vetoed by the head of the opposition organization. The American Federation of Labor's executive council approved the proposed and agreed settlement. The American Federation of Labor stands ready at this hour to put that agreed settlement into operation if it would be acceptable by the head of the opposition to the American Federation of Labor. I do not ask your delegates to take my word as an official responsible to the American Federation of Labor, but I do ask you to do this. One of the largest and most progressive and militant international unions in America had its president as a member of that committee. I speak of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. He was a member of that committee. When this agreement was accepted by the AF of L and vetoed by the head of the opposition movement, this great international union withdrew from the opposition and that international union's executive board a few months ago voted unanimously to recommend to their next convention return to the family of the American Federation of Labor, because they realize that the American Federation of Labor no longer can be successfully blamed for a division in the labor movement in this country.

When the President of the United States in February called upon the head of the American Federation of Labor and the CIO to appoint committees again to try to negotiate peace in the labor movement, the president of the American Federation of Labor named a committee to meet with the dual movement within three hours after the President submitted the request to the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor's committee met at the first opportunity. After the opposition movement appointed their committee, they proceeded to negotiate. The negotiations were temporarily halted at the request of the head of the opposition movement. Then later the negotiations were called off completely because of one fact and one fact alone, that the head of the opposition movement will not permit the committee representing his group to meet with the American Federation of Labor's committee.

## AFL Wants Solidified Labor Movement in This Country

The American Federation of Labor has a committee now ready and anxious to meet to negotiate harmony and a solidified labor movement in this country.

I am sure your organization can make a contribution to unity in the labor movement as have numerous other organizations, but I trust that in your activities you will be sure you thoroughly understand the situation.

The American Federation of Labor is more interested in the deliberations of this convention at this particular time than at any time in the history of the American Federation of Teachers, because we realize that the future of America depends upon the future of the educational system in America, and the American Federation of Labor of necessity must depend upon this organization, the deliberations of this convention, to set the sail, to map the course for public education in America.

I was directed by President Green to consult with the officers of this Federation, for the sole purpose that, when this convention adjourns, I might report to the American Federation of Labor the methods by which it may render more assistance to, and may be more helpful in the support of, this great national organization.

In conclusion may I say this, that the American Federation of Labor is

(Continued on page 15)



# Academic Freedom Honor Roll for 1939

1. The Supreme Court decision of December 12, 1938, in the case of Lloyd Gaines, a Negro student, vs. University of Missouri. The Court not only ordered the University to accept the application of Mr. Gaines for entry into the law school; it also declared unconstitutional the system of tuition scholarships whereby Negro students have been sent out of their states to study.
2. The action of the American Historical Association in refusing to meet at the University of Pittsburgh in 1940 because of the many dismissals of professors in violation of the principles of academic freedom.
3. The action of the American Association of Teachers Colleges in amending its standards for accrediting teachers colleges and normal schools to include a section requiring that teachers who are to be dismissed be given a statement of reasons in writing and the right of hearing if the teacher requests it. Also the action of the association in investigating the circumstances under which President Charles H. Fisher was ousted from his post at the Western Washington College of Education.
4. The work of the Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, under the national leadership of Professor Franz Boas, in combatting the teaching of racism in school textbooks and in rallying American educators to a defense of intellectual freedom.
5. The action of the AAUP in amending its 1925 statement of Principles of Academic Freedom and Tenure to bring it into consonance with the present situation in education.
6. The reinstatement of Professor Philip O. Keeney at the University of Montana after more than two years of activity; the reinstatement of Mr. Raymond Cook at Chicago Teachers College after more than seventeen months of activity; the defeat of the effort to dismiss Professor Eric Beecroft from the University of California and numerous other reinstatements and thwarted dismissals in which the AF of T played a significant role.
7. The revitalization of the National Advisory Council on Academic Freedom which is composed of representatives of the American Federation of Teachers, American Civil Liberties Union, the National Council on Religion and Higher Education and the Department of Classroom Teachers of the NEA and its launching of new activities to promote cooperation of all organizations concerned with the problem of educational freedom.
8. The work of the American Federation of Teachers in providing the greatest local activity on academic freedom throughout the country—according to a survey just completed by the National Advisory Council on Academic Freedom.

## Teacher's Rights Is Year's Objective Says Shukotoff

(The following is an interview with Arnold Shukotoff, chairman of the National Academic Freedom Committee, conducted at the national convention in Buffalo.)

**How many cases did the National Academic Freedom Committee of the AF of T handle during the year?**

There were some 48, as the national report shows, involving the dismissals of some 119 teachers in 21 states.

**Would you say that there has been any change in the type of dismissals since last year?**

No. The largest number of cases arose this year as last in connection with the efforts of administrators to prevent teachers from organizing or to halt their efforts to improve conditions. There were 15 such cases. The next largest number of cases came in connection with unexplained and arbitrary dismissals. There were 14 such cases. Eight cases involved dismissal for a labor, liberal or radical point of view. Three cases involved the rights of teachers as citizens. Two resulted from the arbitrary application of petty regulations. One case involved discrimination for race and another discrimination because of sex. Since you raise the question of the type of dismissals, perhaps I had better indicate that a number of administrators created some new types. In Indiana a teacher was ousted for reading to students from *Stars Fell on Alabama* by Carl Carmer and *A New American History* by W. E. Woodward. In New Jersey a teacher was dismissed for telling horror stories to her students. In Pennsylvania a teacher was dismissed, but later reinstated, for serving beer in her husband's beer parlor after working hours.

**In general, would you say then that this has been a good or a bad year for academic freedom?**

It is incontestable that, from the standpoint both of the number of dismissals and the introduction of repressive legislation, academic freedom has been under unusually severe attack in the last twelve months. The NAFC handled almost twice as many cases this year as last. The AAUP's committee on academic freedom similarly found that its past year's work was more extensive than any in the past five. It is not the severity of the attack, however, that distinguishes the past year so much as its pervasiveness.

**I wonder whether you'd be good enough to amplify your statement.**

There are two that I would like to speak about briefly. One problem that has really become national in scope is discrimination because of sex and marital status. Now the ouster of women teachers because of marriage is certainly not a new phenomenon in American education. Within the past year, however, attempts have been made to oust married women teachers through the passage of state laws. In fact, such laws were introduced in the legislatures of 22 states. Fortunately none of these bills passed.

**When you began talking of discriminatory legislation against women teachers, you intended to describe two aspects of academic freedom that have become nationally significant. I wonder whether you would describe the second now.**

I'd be happy to. But before I describe another issue that has become national

in character, I'd like to tell a little story. The president of one of our universities, I am told, was discussing the question of tenure at a faculty meeting. He indicated that, while he was not opposed to tenure, he felt that the absence of it kept faculty members on their toes. At that point a rather courageous member of the faculty arose and said: "I think we understand what you mean Mr. President, but I believe you have made a slight error in anatomy. The absence of tenure not only keeps teachers on their toes; it also keeps them on their knees." During the past year, the attempts of teachers to rise from their knees have been attacked in all parts of the country.

**What steps can we take to promote our right to organize and our right to participate in the formation of educational and administrative policy?**

There are several. First, we can strive to remove the unwise secrecy which may surround the work of some of our locals—we should request schoolboards to pass resolutions recognizing the right of teachers to organize and of teacher organizations to hold meetings, distribute literature and post notices in the schools. Insofar as our locals become recognized forces in the educational community, we fortify ourselves against attack and make it impossible for reactionary administrators to misrepresent our activities.

Teachers, labor and the community have a common stake in the fight for intellectual freedom and democracy. We should recognize that fact by transforming formal relationships into vital ones.

Democracy in educational affairs does not come after legislation; it usually precedes it. The teacher group that does not seize whatever opportunities are available now for participating in the formulation of educational policy and that does not create opportunities for such participation, will very likely not attain democracy in the hereafter.

**To what do you attribute these two national attacks on educational freedom?**

These developments are most directly attributable to the national retrenchment drive in education.

The achievements as shown in the 1939 Honor Roll indicate that the forces striving to protect educational freedom in America have been immensely strengthened and have made great strides in clarifying their objectives. We have still to find a means of uniting in cooperative effort all the agencies concerned with the defense of academic liberty, for only such united effort will prove formidable enough to withstand the increasing attacks on teacher freedom. Let us leave this convention with the determination to do all in our power to bring together all the forces of education, labor and the community for this significant purpose.

Let us regard as our keynote activities during the year: (1) fighting for the right of women teachers to carry on their work without discrimination because of marital status; (2) blocking dissemination within the schools of anti-democratic ideas of race; and (3) establishing the right of teachers to organize, of teacher organizations to carry on their work freely and of teachers as a body to participate in the formation of educational and administrative policy.

## Davis—

(Continued from page 13)

ning a new contract; gave effective financial and other support to the Cambridge Taxi Cab Company drivers. Union members also played a leading part in Labor's Non-Partisan League. It also arranged the third annual conference of the State Federation of Teachers at Harvard with some 400 people attending.

I could go on for hours quoting from Minneapolis, St. Paul, Ohio, California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and all the other locals. But perhaps the samples given prove beyond doubt the constructive struggle of the Federation even where numbers are small.

In closing may I remind you again that we are struggling not for ourselves, but for the continuation of democracy itself in these United States. Democracy, according to Thomas Jefferson, is a society dedicated to the proposition "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Again to use the definition of Lincoln, democracy is "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." With fascism on the march in Europe, with the outbreak of a world conflict possible at any moment, we must stand guard against retrenchment in education, and for advance in the school system. The fact is the perpetuation of democracy demands a program both of defense and offense. All parties in the United States have recognized the necessity of protecting our material defenses. They have not recognized the necessity of protecting our spiritual defenses. This is primarily the task of the schools. If democratic ideas, values, standards, are to be embodied in the thought life of America, it is the schools which will achieve this end. We must train the rising generation to recognize that democracy is impotent unless it is implemented in an economic life which is democratically organized.

Democracy means opposition to every form of special privilege; it means the promotion of racial and other forms of tolerance; it means promoting understanding and brotherhood, not only within our own country, but between races and nations; it means unrelenting war on poverty and unemployment; and of course it means a perpetuation of liberty and freedom both for the teacher and the student.

As teachers, engaged in the quest for democracy in education, we must never permit ourselves to be fooled into attacking bogey men instead of the real enemy. Wasting time on inconsequential internal disputes while education is being throttled is criminal. Let us stand unitedly loyal to our great Federation.

Every democratic organization must have within its ranks differing political faiths, differing methods of work, but surely we can all be united in the struggle to perpetuate democracy and education. Naturally any organization dedicated to democracy and freedom will be attacked by sinister forces who would like to control it. Our membership will resist any sinister influence, no matter from what quarter, which seeks to undermine liberty, equality and fraternity.

## Boas—

(Continued from page 12)

interpreted as unwarranted radicalism that encourages the use of force for the attainment of ill-defined ends, and as a threat to intellectual freedom from the side of radicalism. There are no facts that justify this assumption. We know from experience that the position of the teacher who is suspected of radical, often even of liberal tendencies, or who discusses the social forces that are at work in our times, is most insecure on account of the timidity of his superiors who do not understand that free citizens, to exercise their civic rights intelligently, must know the problems that confront our society and which cannot be solved by shutting our eyes to their existence; but who has ever heard of insecurity of a teacher because he disregards all social problems and leads the youth in his charge to think that all is well, and that all we have to do is to think that if our institutions were stable there would be nothing to worry about. Let us realize how much the social outlook has changed during the last thirty years. Social security, which is at present recognized as a fundamental necessity, would have been considered as an intolerable attack upon individual liberty thirty years ago, as in early days compulsory schooling was condemned as contrary to individual freedom. We shall always insist on the right to educate our youth to a clear understanding of the problems of our times, and in order to be able to do so we demand fullest freedom for the teacher. We shall be prepared to defend it against all attacks, no matter from what side they come. If a radical party should try to restrain us in the same way as is now done altogether too often by those who do not understand that society is always changing, they would find us as unalterably opposed as we are now to the forces that fear in every free word a danger to the public weal.

## Googe—

(Continued from page 14)

deeply concerned, as are the delegates at this convention, with the future of America. We realize that the enemies of progress, the enemies of freedom, the enemies of social security, the enemies of democracy are on the rampage in America, and as much as we do not like to admit it, the pendulum has been swinging back to the conservative side. There is only one way to preserve the gains we have made under the great humanitarian leader of this nation, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and that is for all the progressive forces of this country to get together, particularly the labor movement, in a united program. We must of necessity in every single local Union in this organization, in this great national Union itself, and throughout every organization in America, unite on a program. We must put aside personal aggrandizement, petty likes and dislikes, and make the cause of progress and freedom and humanitarianism and democracy the supreme issue in all of our thoughts and activities.

I ask this organization to join hands with the American Federation of Labor and our affiliated groups in the coming twelve months that we may so mobilize the forces of liberalism and labor in America that we can turn back the onrush of fascism and reaction.



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## Freedom to Teach

*Because of the increased threats to academic freedom which any war hysteria brings, we are printing the statement on academic freedom which was prepared by the National Academic Freedom Committee last year and submitted to a number of AF of T Locals for criticism and revision.*

*It is the purpose of the National Committee to circulate this statement throughout the United States. However in its final form it will contain a section on proper dismissal procedures.*

THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION has at all times depended upon the discovery of new ideas to meet changing conditions. Among the purposes of education is the promotion of such discovery and the creation of an atmosphere in which the reception of new ideas will be facilitated. The preservation and extension of American democracy particularly involve the maintenance of a school system that will foster freedom of thought, freedom of inquiry and freedom of expression.

We in the American Federation of Teachers pledge ourselves to organize the teachers of America to protect and extend:

1. Freedom to present and discuss fully in classrooms, lectures, publications, or in other media of expression, relevant materials of a controversial nature, including problems in the fields of labor, international relations, the natural sciences and the social sciences. We shall defend the right of a teacher to express his own opinions in the classroom, provided that he exercises proper discretion with regard to age levels and clearly indicates that these are personal opinions.
2. Freedom of the teacher to live his personal life and conduct himself in private with the freedom accorded other citizens.
3. Freedom to participate in community life and particularly in the political life of the community with the same rights and privileges as other citizens.
4. Freedom of the teacher to conduct research and to publish the results of such research in any field of his choice.
5. Freedom to join any organization, group or association of his own choosing, whether it be concerned with social, political, economic, religious or other affairs.

We believe that Education for Democracy cannot be adequately realized without achieving Democracy in Education. We shall therefore work to establish and extend the rights of teachers:

1. To effective participation in the determination and modification of educational policies and curricula of the school system, division and department in which they teach.
2. To effective participation in the selection of presidents, deans, department heads, superintendents, principals and others in supervisory or teaching positions, except where such positions are filled from civil service lists or on the basis of competitive examinations.
3. To effective participation in the determination of budgetary policies affecting their institutions, schools or departments.
4. To effective participation in the formulation of criteria determining the procedures of appointment and promotion as well as the application of these criteria.
5. To effective participation in the determination of their working conditions.

## WASHINGTON RELAY

by MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN  
National Legislative Representative

YOU HAVE BY NOW all read the President's message to the extraordinary session of Congress. I think all of us are in hearty accord with the President when he states his desire to keep the United States of America out of the European War. There are many forces at work, however, in Congress who, though they may give a superficial support to this program, are nevertheless bent upon a path that would involve us. They hope to substitute for real national security a mirage of "war prosperity." Already valuable labor legislation is threatened. Such forces ignore the need of a fight against war profiteering. Fortunately we have in Congress progressive elements that are genuinely concerned about the fate of American workers. A meeting of the House liberal bloc has already been called by Representative John Coffee to map plans against war profiteering and in defense of labor. One of our own members, former president of the Los Angeles Local, Representative Lee Geyer of California, is active with Congressman Coffee in this campaign.

What is our concern as teachers?

1. As leaders of youth and proponents of democracy, it is our great responsibility to protect the children of America from the ravages of war and hunger due to inflated prices. We must also redouble our efforts for increased state and federal aid to schools to extend democracy.

2. As teachers whose salaries are fixed by law, our living standards will decrease as prices increase. The Department of Agriculture and Secretary of Labor Perkins have just issued statistics which show an average increase in food prices of 10 to 15 per cent since August 15, although there are large surpluses which prevent any justification for this increase. In many places the increase has been higher.

3. As trade unionists we must bend every effort to protect the hard-won rights of organized labor.

4. Already there have been attempts in various school systems to invoke "gag" rules against the teaching profession, presumably to prevent war hysteria—actually to strike the first blow, through public employees, against civil lib-

erties for all citizens. We must be on our guard against such curtailments of academic freedom under no matter what cloak they appear.

In the face of these threats all members of the American Federation of Teachers should be clear and firm. Armed with facts and with judgment untinted by emotionalism, we should carefully plan and promptly act to protect the children of the nation, the rights of labor and the dignity of our profession.

What can you do?

1. Write President Roosevelt indicating your support of measures for keeping America out of war, such as denial of war credits, prevention of profiteering, maintenance of civil liberties and labor rights.

2. Send copies of your letter to the President, to Congressmen Geyer and Coffee.

3. Send copies also to your own Representatives and Senators.

4. Release statements to the press on your action.

5. Please send copies of letters and resolutions to Mrs. Mary F. Grossman, 2302 Delancey street, Philadelphia, Pa.

## Evening NEWS

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1939

# TRUTH: THE FIRST CASUALTY OF WAR

WHILE the war is on in Europe, objective analysis of current propaganda is of vital importance to Americans if we are to serve America's best interests. Responsibility for this rests squarely upon the shoulders of our adult-minded critically-thinking citizens and teachers.

President Roosevelt recently warned Americans to beware of those who "talk in terms of glittering generalities" and urged "the utmost caution to distinguish between accepted, verified fact . . . and mere rumor . . ." He particularly emphasized the need for straight thinking to make sure that the youth of this country will not succumb to false propaganda, and urged the establishment of "citadels of truth."

### Teachers and Students —Attention!

You will find PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS specially challenging now. It ties in with Social Studies, English, Science, Home Economics. Methods for adapting it to school use have been worked out by scores of teachers cooperating with the Institute. These are now available in the Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda Analysis. Take advantage of our special offer.

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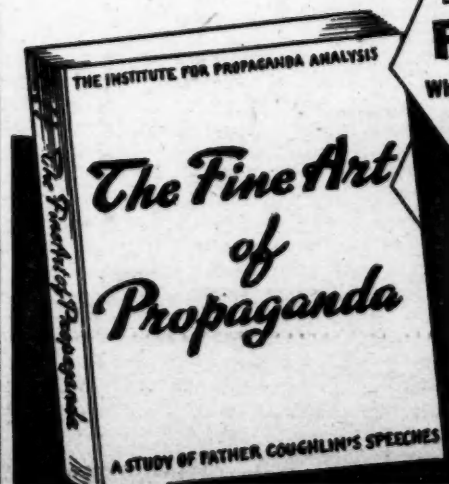
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